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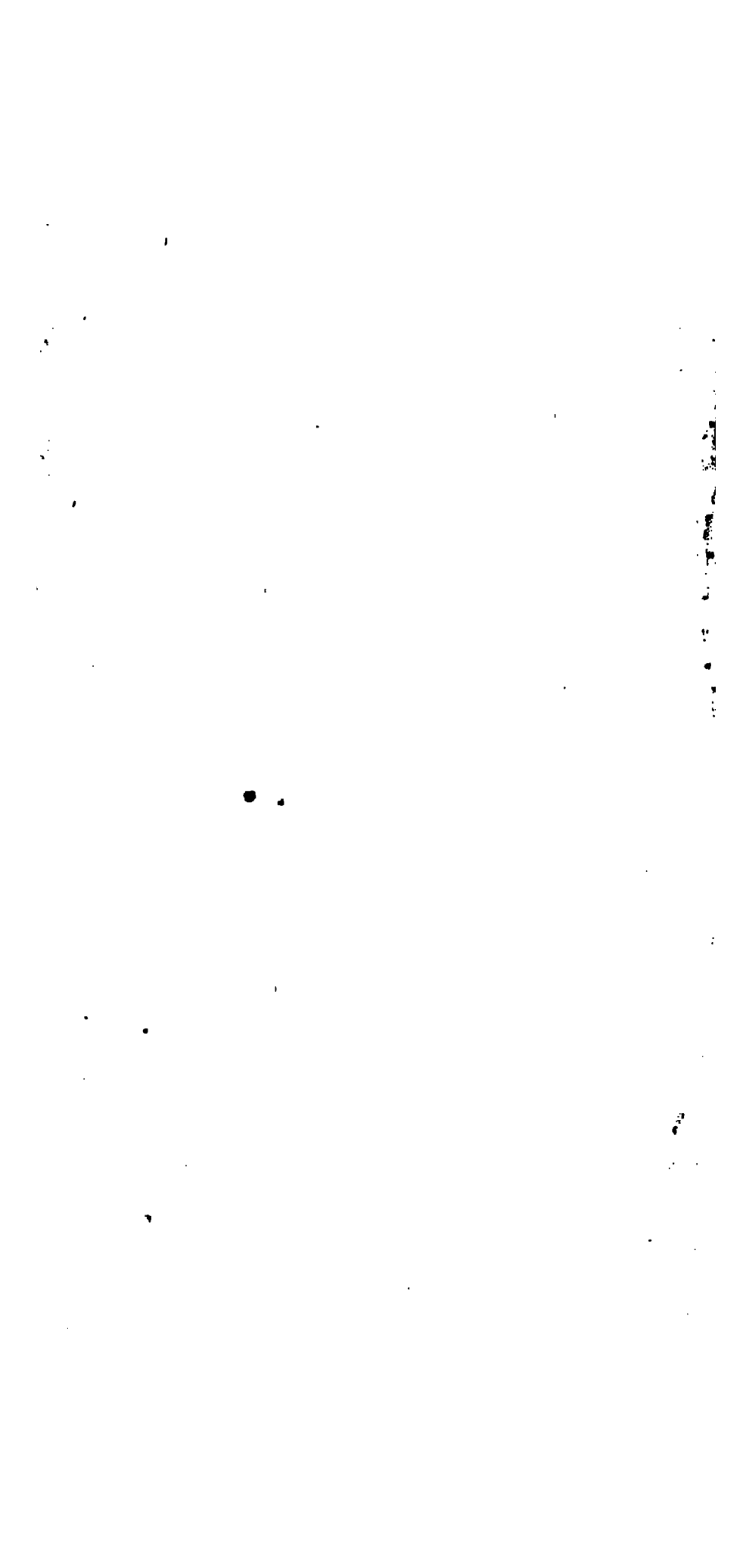
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Nathaniel Mitchell.

A

HISTORY

OF THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION;

COMPREHENDING

ALL THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS

BOTH

IN THE FIELD AND IN THE CABINET.

BY PAUL ALLEN, ESQ.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED, THE MOST IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS

OF THE

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS,

AND MANY OF THE MOST IMPORTANT

LETTERS OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. II.

BALTIMORE: PRINTED FOR FRANKLIN BETTS.

Wm. Woody, Jr. printer.

1822.

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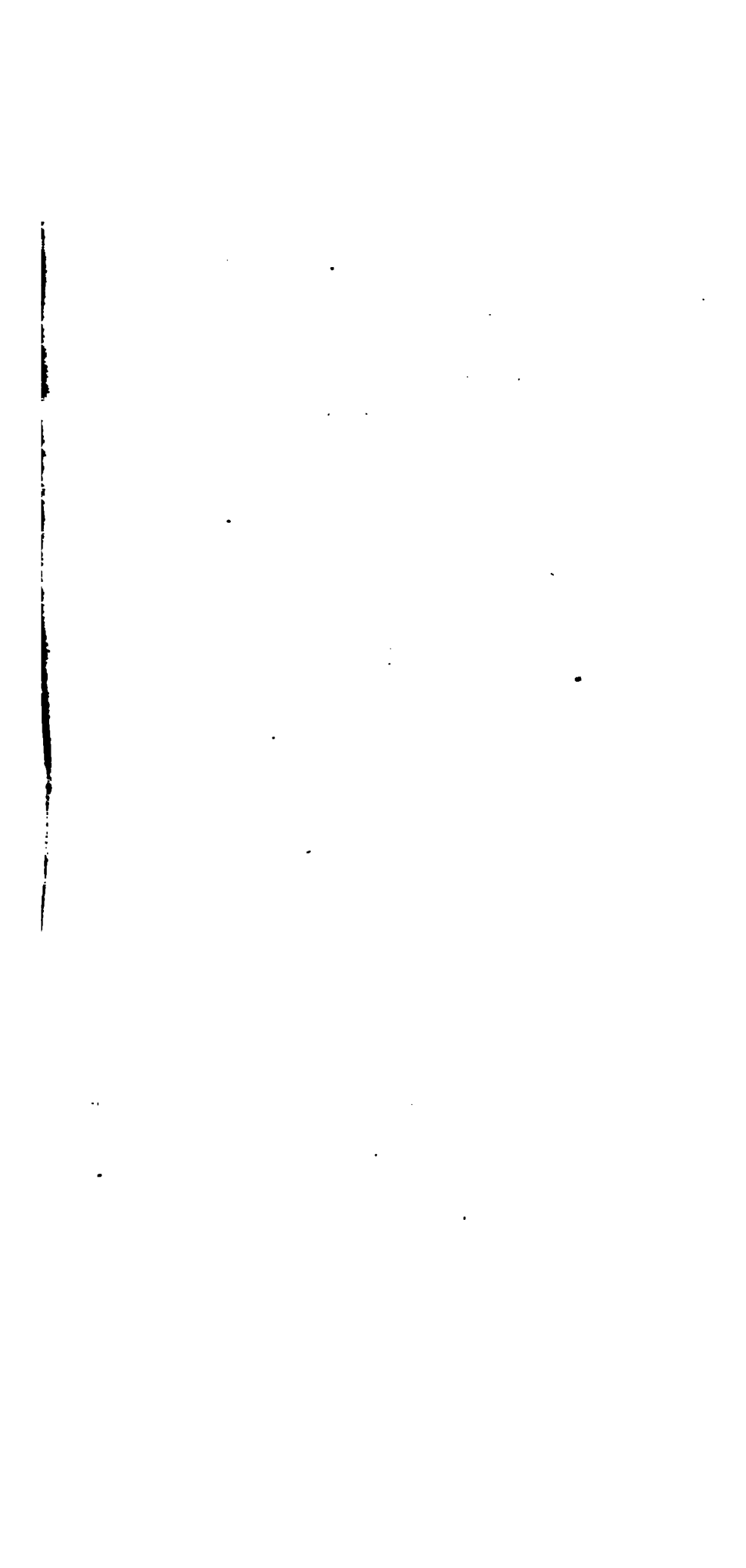
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HISTORY

OF THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

Recapitulation—Events of 1777—Low state of the American Army at Morristown—Dismission of Dr. Stringer, and resolution of Congress, censuring General Schuyler's want of respect—State of the British Army—Expedition of Cornwallis against Bound-brook—Narrow escape of General Lincoln—Governour Try-on's expedition against Danbury—Gallant conduct of Generals Wooster and Arnold—Arnold makes a stand at Radfield—Is obliged to retreat—Follows the enemy to Sagatuck bridge—Action there—Expedition of Colonel Meigs to Saggharbour—Sir William Howe takes the field—his sudden retreat to Am-boy—Washington moves his army to Quibbletown—Howe evacuates the Jerseys—General Schuyler appointed to the command of the Northern Army—General St. Clair ordered to the command of Ticonderoga—The weak state of that garrison—Burgoyne makes his appearance before it—St. Clair evacuates it and joins General Schuyler.

THE army under General Washington had never been more active, nor the cautious skill of the Commander more conspicuously displayed, than during
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ing the winter campaign of 1776. Beaten, and driven from his strong positions on the North River, with the loss of a large portion of his army, we have seen that General Washington found himself reluctantly compelled to make a precipitate retreat across the Jerseys into Pennsylvania, with a shattered force of little more than three thousand men. Arrived at Newark, Washington felt as if the struggle must soon be terminated ; but he felt too, that the western world contained too many secure and safe retreats for the sons of liberty, to admit even the momentary idea of being compelled to relinquish their independence. There was a world beyond the mountains, to which he looked as a dernier asylum. My neck, said he, to his friend Colonel Reed, does not feel as though it were made for a halter—if driven from every other place, we must *cross the Allegany mountains*. At no period of our trying contest, were the hopes of the American army at so low an ebb. The royal forces had been every where successful ; the term of service of the greater part of our soldiers, was about expiring ; many of our most meritorious and useful officers were in the hands of the enemy ; and Cornwallis, flushed with recent victory, was then in hot pursuit of the flying band that stuck to the fortunes of Washington. If Cornwallis had been Commander in Chief of the British army at this time, instead of General Howe, who seems at all times to have laboured under some strange infatuation in his conduct of the war, the revolution would in all probability have closed here, and we might have been at this day under the guardianship of the Mother Country. We have seen that Lord Cornwallis entered Newark only a few hours after Washington had evacuated it ;

and that if his orders had not been peremptory, to advance no further than Brunswick, which last place he also reached just as the rear of Washington's army were quitting it, he must inevitably have prevented them from crossing the Delaware. If General Howe had even attended to the subsequent representations of his pursuing General, Washington must have been overtaken at Princeton; but Providence had decreed that we should be *free*, or the activity of Cornwallis would have been sufficient to have counteracted the effects even of General Howe's dilatory disposition. At Newark, Brunswick, Princeton, and Trenton, the escape of Washington may almost be regarded as miraculous. At Brunswick, thirteen hundred of his men, the Jersey and Maryland brigades, deserted him, their period of service having there expired, and no inducement being sufficient to detain them, a moment beyond their legal engagement. After crossing the Delaware, five hundred others abandoned him, so that his whole force now amounted to no more than seventeen hundred men.

What added greatly to the embarrassments of Washington at this critical juncture of his affairs, was a *proclamation* issued by the two brothers, Lord and General Howe, commanding all persons in arms against *His Majesty's* government, all general and provincial Congresses, and all others who were aiding and abetting the rebels, forthwith to desist from their treasonable practices, and return to their homes and business, on the promise of a full pardon. The effects of this proclamation upon the weak and timid, and particularly upon the men of fortune, who were

willing to be patriots only, while there was no danger, were truly alarming to the friends of freedom, and highly disgraceful to the American character. Many upon whose aid and influence, the utmost reliance had been placed, consented to abandon the cause of freedom, honour, and their country, in this hour of dark and gloomy despondence, and to throw themselves at the feet of His Majesty's merciful commissioners, in penitent submission. We have not a word to say against the conduct of those, who, when the question of rebellion, or non-resistance, was yet undecided, when the daring project of independence was yet a problem of fearful solution, preferred the character of obedient loyalists, to that of stubborn and discontented rebels; they had the undoubted right of choice; but when the barrier that separated treason from resistance had been passed; when the whole nation had declared that they were, and of right ought to be, *free and independent*; when the banner of war had been unfurled in the name of *thirteen United States*, who had mutually and interchangeably pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honours, in the conflict—then the choice had been made, the time for wavering had been passed, and those who had silently acquiesced in, were solemnly bound by, the decision of their country. The desertion of the patriot cause then, was adding cowardice to treason, meanness to hypocrisy; and it becomes the duty of the impartial historian to hold up the double crime to the execration of posterity.

After the capture of General Lee, which to say the least, was the effect of his reprehensible contempt of personal danger, the command of his forces devolved on General Sullivan, who soon after joined General

Washington in Pennsylvania, and thus increased the army to about five thousand men ; nearly one half of which, however, quit the service on the 1st of January upon the expiration of their term. We have seen with what preeminent skill Washington planned and executed a scheme for recrossing the Delaware into Jersey, and giving battle to Knyphausen and his formidable Hessians, over whom he obtained the most signal victory ; having with the loss of only four or five men, taken nearly a thousand prisoners, with whom he returned to his position in Pennsylvania on the same evening, and thus once more raised the smiles of hope in the American camp. The reader has had occasion to remark how often it has been the fortune of Washington, to be overruled in his wisest measures, by the council of his officers. Had he followed his own inclination, after the battle of Trenton, and pursued the routed enemy, the events of this cold, terrible and disastrous winter would have been widely different ; but he was at all times too modest as well as too prudent to rely solely upon his own judgment. This signal success of Washington, against that portion of the enemy too, who had always been looked upon by the Americans with a sort of fearful horror, gave to the officers an opportunity which was not suffered to escape, of appealing to the patriotism and feelings of the militia ; and not without some success—a few hundreds of them were induced to join Generals Mifflin and Greene ; while the continentals, in the true spirit of hireling mercenaries, after accepting an extra bounty of ten dollars for reenlisting, basely deserted Washington, to the number of five hundred, after he had returned to Trenton, and at the moment when a battle was expected, upon the

issue of which, the ultimate fate of the country was supposed to hang.

Lord Cornwallis, who, after his unsuccessful pursuit of Washington as far as the Delaware, had returned to New York with the view of embarking for England, hearing of the movements of the American troops, abandoned all thoughts of his voyage for the present, and hastened to join General Grant, who at the head of the British forces had marched to meet the Americans at Trenton. Washington with about five thousand men was posted on the south bank of Sanpink Creek; a force greatly inferior in numbers to that of the enemy, and composed chiefly of raw, undisciplined militia. He had about thirty pieces of artillery posted on the bank of the creek, which was easily fordable in every part of it, and in this perilous situation hung the destinies of the young Republic, when Cornwallis arrived on the opposite bank of the creek. We have more than once in the course of this history, had occasion to remark, that when the hopes of the Americans were at the lowest ebb, when the fate of their hazardous conflict seemed to hang upon a single thread, and when death and slavery were the only alternatives in their view, something has occurred, like the special interference of Providence, to avert the threatened danger, and throw the sunshine of hope over the gloom of despair. So it happened in the present instance. If Lord Cornwallis had listened to the advice of Sir William Erskine, and made an immediate attack upon the Americans, instead of lying down to enjoy a night of repose, in the sanguine assurance that his victim could not escape him, nothing could have saved our little army from annihilation. But the moments devoted by

the British commander to sleep, were far otherwise employed by Washington. He saw the peril of his situation, and as upon all occasions of importance, called his officers together to consult upon the means of safety. In this instance, his advice was fortunately adopted—an immediate retreat to Princeton was determined upon; and the annals of war would be consulted in vain, for an example of a manœuvre of such consummate skill. The two armies were separated only by a narrow creek; the voices of the sentinels on either side, could be distinctly heard by the other; and a musket-ball from either camp would have passed far over the rear of the other. The weather for several days had been warm, wet, and foggy, and the roads were so muddy and deep as to be almost impassable—To have crossed the Delaware in view of the enemy would have been attended with infinite hazard; and to have attempted to pursue the course of the river to the ferry opposite Philadelphia, would have been equally dangerous. No alternative was left but to march by a circuitous route to Princeton; and even this would have been utterly impracticable, but for a sudden change in the weather. The wind shifted to the North West, a severe frost ensued, even while the officers were deliberating, and by the time the troops were ready to move, the ground was hard and firm. Nothing could have been better managed than the stratagem adopted to deceive the enemy: large fires having been kindled in front of the whole line, and kept in full blaze all night, which effectually prevented the operations of those behind them from being observed, while at the same time it induced a belief that Washington was calmly preparing for a morning encounter. Lieutenant Colonel Mawhood,

with three British regiments, had been left at Princeton, and had but just quitted it on a different road to join the main army at Trenton, as the Americans came in sight—General Mercer, who commanded the centre of the American army, having advanced to attack him, with rather more courage than caution, his militia were thrown into complete confusion, and the result would have been fatal to the whole army, but for the most unexampled coolness and presence of mind, joined to the most heroick valour, on the part of Washington. The exposure of his person on that day to the fire of both armies, and his providential escape from injury, will call to mind the circumstance of his having been several times distinctly aimed at by his Indian enemies, on the day that proved so fatal to the unfortunate Braddock. These repeated instances of extraordinary preservation, not only to Washington but to the cause in which he had embarked, almost justify the prevalent superstition, that Heaven fought on our side.

The fortune of the day was soon changed by the intrepidity of Washington; and Colonel Mawhood, with great difficulty, saved his brigade from total destruction. His troops fought with the most distinguished bravery, and suffered severely from the vigour with which they charged the American line. The surprise of Cornwallis, when roused the next morning by the firing at Princeton, may be easily imagined. He had fancied it impossible for the Americans to escape; but now he began to fear that he might be able to push on to Brunswick, where the stores and baggage of his army lay without adequate protection, and with a view therefore to intercept them, he now retraced his march with as much rapidity as he had advanced to Trenton. General Washington, however,

did not deem it prudent to venture to Brunswick with his fatigued and harassed troops, though urged to it by the prospect of releasing General Lee from captivity, and of making himself master of the baggage of the whole British army. His men had been without sleep or provisions for two days and nights, and too much depended upon their safety to run the hazard of being overtaken by the fresh troops of Cornwallis. Washington therefore retired from Princeton to Pluckemin, about twenty miles North West of Brunswick, on the road to Morristown, which had been considered as a safe and important position. It was well that this determination was made, as Cornwallis did not halt until he reached Brunswick, where he arrived, before it would have been possible for the Americans to have effected any thing, had they attempted it. In this affair with Colonel Mawhood, General Mercer, by whom the attack was begun with the Philadelphia militia, received three bayonet wounds, which proved mortal.

Early in December, Congress had, by the advice of Generals Putnam and Mifflin, determined to adjourn from Philadelphia to Baltimore, where they met on the 20th : and one among their first acts was to declare the authority of General Washington supreme and independent, in every thing which concerned the conduct and management of the war. This was such an evidence of "perfect reliance on the wisdom, vigour, and uprightness" of one man, as had never before been given by any people, under any circumstances ; and it may be safely asserted, that the history of the world does not produce an instance of a man who presumed so little upon the possession of power so absolute. The lives and property of the whole country were placed

at his disposal. He was authorized to appoint and displace officers at will ; to call upon the governments of the respective states for any number of men he might think proper ; to raise a considerable army and *to establish their pay* ; to take whatever he might want for the army, wherever he might be ; and “to arrest and confine persons who *refuse to take the continental currency, or are otherwise disaffected to the American cause.*” The modesty and forbearance of Washington under this weight of honour and of power, may be regarded as a phenomenon in the moral, as well as in the political world ; and the full confidence which the Congress now placed in the integrity of a man so lately and so suddenly raised to this high rank against the wishes of a numerous and powerful party, spoke more in his praise than all which could have been said by his most zealous panegyrist.

Nothing can more clearly show the scanty resources of the country, and the little hope that was entertained of a successful termination to the Revolutionary struggle, than the steps which Congress were compelled to take, to ensure a respect for the “continental currency”—those who refused to receive it, were threatened with punishment, and placed at the disposal of the military chief!—Labouring under so many disadvantages, with an army reduced almost to nothing, a militia ready to sell their services to the highest bidder, and a victorious enemy driving them from place to place, the Congress deserve immortal honour for the bold and independent tone of their measures ; as well those which related to their intercourse with foreign nations, as those that were intended to maintain the supremacy of their authority at home. The Com-

missioners appointed to the courts of Vienna, Spain, Prussia, and Tuscany, were respectively instructed to assure them that the independence of the United States would be maintained at all hazards; and the Commissioners to France and Spain were directed to promise a declaration of war against the Portuguese Monarch, provided such an event would be agreeable to their Catholic and Christian Majesties.

The refusal of the enemy to abide by the terms of the cartel, which had been settled by Generals Washington and Howe for the exchange of prisoners, in the case of General Lee, their cruelties to the prisoners in general, and the enormities which they every where committed against the persons and properties of innocent individuals, in Jersey and New York, have already been spoken of. They not only exasperated the Congress to enter into resolutions of retaliation, but they had a result much more beneficial to the cause of the United States. The people were roused to acts of revenge, and the foraging parties of the enemy were made to feel the consequences of their licentious outrages. With regard to General Lee, the enemy affected to consider him as a *deserter* from his Britannick Majesty's service, and therefore not entitled to the common privilege of being treated as a prisoner of war. Under this pretence, they refused to receive *six* Hessian field officers which Washington offered in exchange for him, and made it the plea of confining and guarding him with the utmost severity. This however was only the ostensible motive for retaining Lee; the *real* one was, his eminent character as a soldier; and the idea that his advice and services were essential to the successful prosecution of their cause by the Americans. They hoped, that this early loss of al-

most the only officer of military experience in the Republican army, would tend to create dismay and confusion, and weaken the confidence of the people in their efficient protection. That this reasoning was in some measure correct, is proved by the steps which Congress took to procure the enlargement of General Lee; but the spirit of independence was too strong in the minds of the most virtuous portion of the United States, the middle class of people, to be subdued by one or two reverses of fortune, and the officers of talents too numerous to render the loss of any single individual irreparable.

The Resolution of Congress directed General Washington, in the event of General Howe's refusing to place General Lee upon the footing of a prisoner of war, to confine Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell, and five Hessian field officers, who were prisoners, and to inflict upon their persons precisely the same treatment which General Lee should receive. This was a novel and dangerous experiment; and more peculiarly hazardous because of the vast disproportion between the English and American prisoners. Retaliation under any circumstances seldom leads to good—indeed we know not how it can be called *retaliation*, when the punishment due to the perpetrator of the crime is inflicted upon a third party entirely innocent. Lieutenant Colonel Campbell and the Hessian officers had no agency whatever in the treatment received by General Lee; as it concerned them, therefore, the resolution of Congress was an act of unprovoked cruelty, which involved in its consequences the safety of more than three hundred officers. It was unjustifiable, because they ought to have expected that the enemy would at least be influenced by the same spirit that actuated

them; and that instead of producing the release of General Lee, the confinement of the officers mentioned would have been followed perhaps by the execution of Lee, and certainly by cruelty to all the other prisoners. If General Howe, by whose immediate orders Lee was treated as a state criminal rather than as a prisoner, had fallen into the hands of the Americans, there would have been some show of justice in subjecting *him* to similar treatment; but even in that case it could not be strictly considered as justifiable *retaliation*, because General Howe no doubt acted by the express commands of his government. We have purposely passed over many cruelties practised by the British upon the American prisoners; but the instances already adduced are sufficient to show the sort of feeling which prompted their conduct; and it may be readily conceived that this feeling would have been doubly inflamed by any attempt on the part of Washington to retaliate. The resolution of Congress therefore was as impolitick as it was unjust.

In the treatment of prisoners, as well as in the enormities committed against the persons and properties of individuals who took no part in the war, those who were called *tories* were the principal advisers and perpetrators; and against *these*, the American troops, continentals and militia, lost no opportunity of taking ample vengeance. To such extent indeed did they carry the practice of plundering, that Washington found it necessary to *prohibit it* by general order, in which it is said: "After this order any *officer* found plundering the inhabitants under pretence of their being *tories*, may expect to be punished in the severest manner." Such is the miserable degradation to which the state of civil war reduces human nature. Con-

gress, after having passed several resolutions, among which were, one declaring that Washington should not be bound by a majority of voices in a council of war contrary to his own judgment, and another referring to the consideration of the several states the plan for regulating the prices of labour and of goods, adjourned on the 27th of February, to meet again at Philadelphia.

In the mean time Washington continued his headquarters at Morristown, awaiting the movements of General Howe. And though the brilliant achievements of his little band at Trenton and Princeton, had in some measure brightened the gloom which overspread our affairs during the months of November and December, still there seemed to be no disposition in the people to join his standard. His whole force for several months seldom exceeded fifteen hundred men, and there were times when he could not have mustered four hundred, of all descriptions, fit for duty. In this situation had General Howe detached the same force against the Commander in Chief which he sent against General M'Dougall at Peekskill, and which ended only in the destruction of a quantity of stores, he would have given a blow to the American cause, from which it could not soon have recovered. But here, as in many other instances, the ignorance of General Howe, or his failure to profit by the means of intelligence within his power, saved the Republican army, and justified their reliance on the interposition of Providence in their favour. So slow was the operation of the recruiting service in adding to the strength of Washington, that on the 15th of March he had not one thousand men; and so little were the officers, upon whom the duty of enlisting men devolved, influenc-

ed by principles of patriotism, or even common honesty, that they made no scruple of embezzling the money entrusted to them for that purpose, and of making false returns of desertions. Even for the troops that were raised, it was found impossible to procure arms, until the fortunate arrival of the vessels from France, supplied them with upwards of twenty thousand stand. In the midst of these difficulties, there seemed to be some danger of a serious altercation between Congress and General Schuyler, in consequence of the dismissal of Doctor Stringer from the direction of the medical department of the Northern Army. The resolution which Congress passed upon this subject on the 15th of March will be regarded, at the present day, as a singular compound of dignity and condescension. "Resolved," say they, "That as Congress proceeded to the dismissal of Doctor Stringer, upon reasons satisfactory to themselves, General Schuyler ought to have known it to be his duty to have acquiesced therein—That the suggestion in General Schuyler's letter to Congress, that it was a compliment due to him to have been advised of the reasons of Dr. Stringer's dismissal, is highly derogatory to the honour of Congress; and that the President be desired to acquaint General Schuyler, that it is expected his letters for the future, be written in a style more suitable to the dignity of the representative body of these free and independent States, and to his own character as their officer. Resolved, that it is altogether improper and inconsistent with the dignity of this Congress, to interfere in disputes subsisting among the officers of the army, which ought to be settled, unless they can be otherwise accommodated, in a court martial, agreeably to the rules of the army; and that the expressions

in General Schuyler's letter of the 4th of February, 'that he confidently expected Congress would have done him that justice, which it was in their power to give, and which he humbly conceives they ought to have done,' were, to say the least, ill advised and highly indecent." It is a fact which cannot be told without disgrace to the medical profession, that more instances of fraud, incompetence, and neglect of duty, occurred among the Surgeons of our Revolutionary army, than in any other department of the service. No less than four Surgeons of high rank had been dismissed from the service, under the most dishonourable circumstances, at the date of this resolution; and several others had been severely censured by commanding officers, for neglecting those duties which humanity alone, independently of the obligations of their profession, should have taught them most strictly to observe. We should endeavour in vain to account for this dereliction of principle in the members of a profession, which has in every age and every country, furnished some of the noblest ornaments of human nature. The Surgeons may have been badly selected, or the temptations inseparable from the peculiar situations in which they were often placed, may have been too strong to be resisted.

A few days after this the Congress appointed Major General Gates to the command of the Northern army.

While the American army was at this low ebb, without men, without arms, without money, except the bills of credit, which all the resolutions of Congress could not keep from a daily and enormous depreciation, every thing on the part of the enemy evinced a determination to open the Spring campaign with

more vigour than ever. General Howe, who had received the distinction of knighthood for his victory on Long Island, was ready in March to take the field with an army of twenty seven thousand men, while the whole force at the disposal of Washington was no more than four thousand five hundred, and this a mere *nominal* amount. What a fearful disparity was this, in a contest for life and liberty; and in a country, where the people seemed to have lost all that high sense of independence and patriotism, which first led them to resist the oppressions of the British Cabinet. Not knowing to what point Sir William might first direct his attention, and unable to provide the means of effectual defence at any one, Washington remained at Morristown patiently waiting the result. Lord Cornwallis, who had continued at Brunswick, made the first movement. He conceived the design of attacking General Lincoln, who was posted at Boundbrook with about five hundred men; and with this view he crossed the Rariton with a party of a thousand men, on the morning of the 13th of April, while General Grant, with a second thousand, advanced up the river on the opposite side. Notwithstanding General Lincoln's cautious measures to guard against a surprise, the neglect of his patrols enabled the enemy to advance within two hundred paces of him before they were discovered. The General's quarters were nearly surrounded by sunrise, and it was with some difficulty and considerable risk that he left the house and joined his troops, who were by this time engaged with the enemy's advance. With such immense disproportion of force it can hardly be said that an *action* ensued: the troops however displayed much bravery, and General Lincoln deserves infinite credit for effecting a re-

treat with them through the closing columns of the enemy with the loss of only about sixty men. One of his Aids, all his papers, baggage, and three small pieces of artillery, fell into the hands of Cornwallis, who remained no longer in the place than was necessary to destroy the few articles of stores which had been deposited there for the use of the troops.

A few days after this affair, Sir William sent an expedition of two thousand men under the command of the late Governour, now Major General Tryon, General Agnew, and Sir William Erskine, for the purpose of destroying the stores and provisions deposited at Danbury. They reached it on the 26th of April, and met with no resistance, the small number of continentals posted there, having evacuated the place on their approach. The loss of stores to the Americans was very considerable--1800 barrels of pork and beef, and 800 of flour; 2000 bushels of grain, clothing for a regiment, 100 hogsheads of rum, and 1790 tents. Besides the destruction of these articles, the enemy wantonly burned eighteen houses with their furniture, murdered three unoffending inhabitants, and threw their bodies into the flames! It is painful to record such wanton acts of savage barbarity, but they have occurred too often, and are too well attested to be passed over in silence.

Generals Sullivan, Wooster, and Arnold, happened to be in the neighbourhood through which the enemy marched to Danbury; and by great activity and exertions, they succeeded in collecting about six hundred militia, with which they marched in pursuit, in a heavy rain, as far as Bethel, a little village about two miles from Danbury, which they reached late at night. Here it was determined to wait for the return

of the enemy, and attack them on the march. On the morning of the 27th General Wooster detached four hundred under Arnold and Sullivan to watch the motions of the enemy, and remained himself with two hundred at Bethel, until nine o'clock, when hearing that they had moved off on the road to Norwalk, he set out in pursuit, came up with and engaged their rear, and succeeded in taking forty prisoners; but this gallant veteran, now in his *seventieth* year, after displaying a Quixotic bravery for more than an hour, received a mortal wound. General Arnold had in the mean time crossed the country, and by a forced march reached Ridgfield at 11 o'clock, through which the enemy were to pass. Here with his small party, which had been increased to five hundred by the junction of the neighbouring militia, he threw up a sort of barricado across the road and resolved to make a stand. His right flank was covered by a dwelling house and barn, and his left by a high ledge of rocks. The enemy, more than three times his number, advanced against him in two columns, with a view to outflank and surround him; a warm and brisk action ensued for about ten minutes, when the enemy succeeded in making a lodgment on the rock, and it became necessary for Arnold to retreat, which he effected with great bravery and skill, keeping up a scattering fire for the whole day. The royal Governour remained at Ridgfield all night, repeating as far as possible the scene of destruction transacted at Danbury. Four private houses were burned, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to destroy the church, for which last however, there was some apology, as it contained a quantity of provisions for publick use. The enemy continued their march early on the morn-

ing of the 28th, towards Sagatuck river, which they forded, and pursuing the course of its banks, were closely followed by Arnold on the west side, with occasional and mutual cannonadings, until they reached Sagatuck bridge, where both parties being advantageously posted, an action commenced with the artillery which was kept up with great warmth for fifteen minutes, when the enemy thought proper to take up their march in rapid movement towards their shipping. Arnold pursued them to their boats, and being joined by Colonel Lamb with two hundred men, from New York (who however retreated on the first fire of the enemy, leaving the Colonel almost alone) galled their rear very severely. General Arnold displayed great skill and personal bravery through the whole of this affair. He had one horse killed under him, and another wounded. Congress voted him a horse fully caparisoned, and promoted him to the rank of Major General. Colonel Lamb was severely wounded in the back, while he was exerting himself to rally the cowardly militia who had fled in confusion upon the first appearance of danger. The loss to the enemy in this expedition was at least four hundred men, killed, wounded and taken; while that of the Americans was only about sixty killed and wounded. Their loss of stores and provisions, however, was considerable. General Wooster lingered with his wounds until the 2d of May. Thus ended the expedition under Governour Tryon, assisted by General Agnew and Sir William Erskine, with two thousand men! If it was not absolutely disgraceful, it at least added nothing to the *glory* of the British name.

In the mean time General Washington remained without addition to his army, ignorant of Sir William Howe's intentions, and watching with anxious solicitude every indication of a movement. Corrupted as the people generally through the country were, and sunk in every species of disgraceful speculation and bribery as were the men of fortune and influence, it is inconceivable how Sir William could have remained in ignorance of the actual state of the American Commander in Chief. So late as the 21st of May, it appears that Washington's safety was still dependent on the chance of Sir William's obtaining correct intelligence. "Nothing" says he, in a letter of that date, "but a good face and false appearances have enabled us hitherto to deceive the enemy respecting our strength." Towards the end of the month, however, he received a small reinforcement, and moved to Middlebrook, within a few miles of Brunswick,³ of which he took possession.

About this time an achievement of considerable brilliance was performed by Colonel Meigs of New Haven. He was detached by General Parsons with one hundred and seventy men, in thirteen whale-boats to Saggharbour for the purpose of destroying the stores of the royal army which had been there deposited. From Guilford, he crossed the Sound, and landing near Southhold, marched his men over land, carrying the boats with them, to the bay which separates the north and south branches of the island, and there reembarked. Having crossed this and arrived within four miles of the harbour, he ordered the boats to be secured in the woods, and leaving a proper guard with them, marched with about one hundred and twenty men to the scene of action, where

he arrived at two o'clock on the morning of the 24th. Such were the order and silence of his arrangement, that the first onset was a bayonet charge upon the guards; these soon gave the alarm, and a firing commenced upon the party from an armed schooner in the harbour, which was returned with such effect, that the vessel was soon fired, and the men to the number of sixty-four made prisoners. By this affair the enemy lost twelve brigs and sloops, a large quantity of forage, ten hogheads of rum, and a considerable amount of merchandize. Ninety prisoners were taken, and six of the enemy were killed, and by two o'clock of the same day the Colonel had returned with his party to Guilford.

At length, on the 13th of June, the movements of Sir William Howe indicated an attack. Passing rapidly from New York to Brunswick, he left the latter place at night with his troops and took the field. Washington had at first supposed his design to be to cross the Delaware; but the circumstance of his leaving at Brunswick not only all his heavy baggage, but the boats and bridges which had been built there as he supposed for the purpose of crossing the river, together with his halting so soon instead of making a rapid march, induced him to change his opinion. The subsequent sudden retreat of Sir William, baffled all Washington's conjectures as to his objects. It will be seen by the following extract from his letter of the 20th June, that, the Jersey militia showed something like spirit upon Sir William's taking the field, alarmed perhaps for their personal safety—"The enemy *decamped* the night before last, and have returned to their former position. It appears to have been in consequence of a *sudden* resolution, as

they had raised a chain of redoubts from Somerset to Brunswick. What may have determined them to change their plan, is hard to tell. Whether alarmed at the *animation among the people*, disappointed in the movements they may have expected us to make, thence concluding their design impracticable; or, whether they may have an operation in view in some other quarter, the event must show." The retreat of the British army was, as usual, attended with every species of wanton cruelty and enormity. They burned almost every farm house on the road, defaced and otherwise injured the *churches* and other publick buildings, and lost no opportunity of maltreating the inhabitants. They remained but a day or two at Brunswick, leaving it on the 22d for Amboy, to which place they had previously sent their baggage. The anticipation of this movement induced General Washington to make preparation for annoying them as much as possible on their march. For this purpose he detached General Greene with three brigades to fall upon their rear, while he kept at a convenient distance with the main army to render assistance if necessary. Wayne's brigade, and Morgan's regiment of light infantry were at Brunswick by sunrise; and a detachment from the latter attacked and drove in the Hessian pickets. The enemy perceiving their approach, crossed the bridge and threw themselves into redoubts on the east side of the river; but upon being briskly pursued by the Americans, they hastily retired along the Amboy road without making a stand. Morgan's regiment kept up a galling fire during the pursuit which did considerable execution. Why Sir William thought proper to retreat before a handful of men, prepared

as he was to maintain his position, is one of the many incidents in his military career which render his conduct wholly inexplicable.

Upon Howe's retreat to Amboy, Washington advanced his whole army as far as Quibbletown, while Howe with a view to deceive him ordered all his heavy baggage and a part of his troops to cross over to Staten Island. But there was scarcely time allowed for the deception to have its effect on Washington, for returning with the troops to Amboy on the same evening, the British General on the morning of the 25th, advanced with his whole army, as if determined to bring on a general engagement. General Washington, however, upon the supposition that Sir William's chief objects were to cut off his parties and gain possession of the passes in the mountains on his left, hastened to move his army from the low ground which they occupied, to the heights in face of the enemy. The subsequent movements of the enemy proved the correctness of Washington's judgment. Howe continued to advance until he fell in with a part of Lord Sterling's division, which his Lordship's bravery had well nigh given into his hands; for instead of retreating as common prudence and caution would have dictated, he entered into action with Howe's advance and continued to fight until the column under Cornwallis was almost upon him. He escaped however with a trifling loss. Howe continued the pursuit to Westfield, where he remained until the next day, and on the 27th returned to Amboy. On the 30th the whole army crossed over to Staten Island, thus leaving Washington in quiet possession of the Jerseys. These skirmishes were attended with but little loss to either party, if we except the injury

done to the houses and other property of individuals. The quarters which the royal troops had occupied in Brunswick were left in wretched condition, and their steps were every where marked by devastation.

While these things were passing in Jersey, General Schuyler had made his peace with Congress by a satisfactory letter of explanation, and was appointed to the command of the northern department, including Albany, Ticonderoga, Fort Stanwix and their dependencies. By this strange and unexpected measure, General Gates was superseded in his command, without the show of a single reason for the charge, except that General Schuyler was supposed to have more influence among the dissatisfied citizens of the state of New York. That his appointment might have less the appearance of a desire to supersede General Gates, and be more acceptable to Congress, an unsuccessful attempt was previously made to obtain an order for the abandonment of Ticonderoga and the western frontier. This was however softened down into a resolve "that General Gates should be empowered to abandon the fortification at pleasure;" under the expectation, no doubt, that he would retire from it of his own accord, and leave the command vacant. Only eleven of the thirteen States voted on this question, out of which six were decidedly opposed to the measure, but the other five, it seems, outweighed them in numbers. This is a curious fact, and may serve to show how little the measures of Congress depended on the opinions of the confederation. Only two months had elapsed since the same body had appointed Major General Gates to supersede General Schuyler, and with as little appearance of reason, unless we are to consider them as

influenced by feelings of animosity excited by the independent stand which the latter took in the case of his friend Doctor Stringer. Major General Schuyler was the older officer of the two, and perhaps on the strict principles of military rank was best entitled to it; but when once removed, there should at least have been some grounds of complaint against his successor, to make his reappointment equitable. To these frequent removals of officers from commands, without the slightest allegation of neglect of duty, is to be attributed much of that jealousy, and wrangling, which afterwards so disgraced the American army.

General Schuyler arrived at Albany, and resumed the command of the Northern army, on the 3d of June, and on the 5th, ordered Major General St. Clair to repair to Ticonderoga and take the command of that fortress. From an idea which prevailed not only in Congress, but with General Gates, that the enemy's forces in Canada would be removed to New-York, for the purpose of co-operating with Sir William Howe, Ticonderoga and the western lines dependent on it, had been left almost without the means of defence. When General St. Clair reached the scene of his command, he found his effective force little more than two thousand, and of these a large number were in want of clothing, arms, bayonets, and accoutrements; the store of provisions was sufficient for but little more than a month; the enemy were in command of the Lake; and the Indians in their service were scattered in vast hordes along the whole frontier. In truth, as General St. Clair stated in his letter to Congress, no army was ever in a more critical situation; for the lowest calculation which had been made of the number of men requisite for the de-

fence of this portion of the country amounted to ten thousand. General Gates had supposed, indeed, that eleven thousand seven hundred continentals would be necessary, besides the militia.

On the 17th of June, General Schuyler himself visited Ticonderoga, and on the 20th held a council of his general officers, who merely attested the fact of the inadequacy of their means of defence, and came to the conclusion, that in the event of its being necessary to give up either of the two posts then garrisoned, Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, it would be most advisable to abandon the former. They added a resolution "that immediate application be made to his excellency General Washington, for a reinforcement to be sent on, with all possible expedition." It was a council, in fact, which might as well not have been called, since they neither stated any thing that was not before acknowledged, nor suggested any thing which could be considered as a remedy for the difficulties of their situation.

Lieutenant General Burgoyne, who it will be recollected had made so many empty boasts *in parliament*, of his fitness to command against the Americans, had been some time before appointed to supersede Sir Guy Carleton in the command of the Canada troops. This change was probably made on account of the apparent unwillingness of General Carleton to go so far in his employment of the Indians, as the Ministry desired and directed—or he had perhaps shown himself more humane to the prisoners whose fortune it was to fall into his hands, than suited the policy which they thought it necessary to pursue. Whatever may have been the reasons of the English Cabinet, it is certain that the change could not have

proceeded from a comparison of the military talents of the two gentlemen; for though the reputation of General Burgoyne stood high, that of Carleton was unimpeached, and he had maintained his stand in Canada against some of the most vigorous efforts of the Republican army. On the 24th of June, some of Burgoyne's troops arrived at Crown Point; General Schuyler had returned to his Head Quarters at Albany, and the task of defence remained with St. Clair. He was wholly ignorant of the views of the enemy, while on the contrary he had every reason to believe that they possessed the most correct information of his weakness. In this situation, all he could do, was to make the wisest arrangement of his means, and await the result. On the 30th, a part of the enemy's vessels made their appearance before Ticonderoga, and the troops landed in three divisions, at a few miles distance from the Fort—the advanced corps on the west side of the Lake, another detachment on the east side, and a party of Indians and Canadians in front of our lines; and the whole army followed from Crown Point on the next day, the British and German troops in separate divisions.

On the approach of Burgoyne to the American lines, he issued a proclamation, threatening those who resisted with all the terrors of relentless war, and promising certain conditions to such as would either join his forces, or remain quietly at home. His promises and threats, which were couched in the most pompous terms, were alike disregarded, for not a man was either terrified by his threats or won by his promises of protection. The British General certainly entered upon this campaign under every favourable circumstance—with every reasonable prospect of adding to

the fame he had already won in other countries. He had the finest train of artillery that had ever been brought into the field : his troops were in the best possible condition, well disciplined, in full health, and commanded by officers of great reputation and experience—the British, by Generals Philips, Frazer, Powell, and Hamilton, and the auxiliaries by the Baron Reidesel, and General Specht.—On the 2d of July a party of the enemy consisting of Captain Fraser's marksmen, and Indians, to the number of 500 men, either through ignorance or bravado, attacked a picket of 60 men within two hundred yards of one of the American batteries, and forcing them to retire, advanced within sixty yards, scattering themselves along the whole front of the American works. In the mean time, the right wing of the British army moved up, from their position on the west side of the Lake, and took possession of Mount Hope ; and General St. Clair, supposing that an assault was intended, and that Frazer had been sent forward to throw the garrison into confusion, ordered the troops to conceal themselves behind the parapets and reserve their fire. Frazer's party, still perhaps deceived as to the real situation of the American works, which were in a great measure hid by brushwood, continued to advance, until one of the American soldiers fired a musket—this seemed to be understood as a signal, and the whole line rose and fired a volley, the artillery following the example, without orders. The consequence of this mistake was, that every man of the enemy but one escaped ; for the first fire was made without aim, and this produced so great a smoke, that the enemy could not be seen, until they had fled to too great a distance to be reached by the shot. General Burgoyne remain-

ed quietly in his position, and but for the solitary wounded prisoner, who had fallen into our hands, General St. Clair would have remained ignorant of his strength or intentions. A *ruse* was resorted to, to obtain information of the prisoner, which fortunately succeeded, and his intelligence turned out to be perfectly accurate. But St. Clair still hoped that an assault would be made, against which he was determined to defend the post to the last extremity. He was unwilling to hazard his reputation for bravery by abandoning the place; though every dictate of prudence must have taught him that there could be no safety for his army but in a retreat. On the 5th, however, the enemy appeared on Sugar Loaf Hill, or Mount Defiance as it was called, from which as there could be no prospect of dislodging him, and as the American camp were much exposed to their fire on that side, and liable to be enfiladed on all quarters; and as there was every reason to expect an attack upon Ticonderoga and Mount Independence at the same time, between which places the American troops were divided; a council of the officers was called to decide whether it would be most adviseable to remove to the less exposed low grounds to wait for the attack, or remove the whole of the troops to Mount Independence and defend that post. The council were unanimously of opinion that neither of these alternatives would be safe, and that a retreat should be undertaken as soon as possible. It was effected that night, with as little loss as could be expected from the great vigilance and activity of Burgoyne; who, perceiving the movements of the Americans, divided his force and ordered pursuit, both by land and water—the *elite* corps under Brigadier General Frazer, and the German troops un-

der Baron Reidesel, were detached after the main body which retired through the wilderness to Hubbartown; while Burgoyne himself, after taking possession of the abandoned post, at which he left the 62d regiment and the German regiment of Prince Frederick, pursued our sick, convalescent, baggage and stores, which had been sent by water to Skeenesborough, or Whitehall. The first party arrived at Hubbartown, a distance of twenty four miles, about one o'clock the next day, where they halted for the rear guard until five and then pursued their march to Castletown, where they arrived at dusk, having marched a distance of thirty miles. Colonel Long and his regiment who had accompanied the flotilla with the sick and baggage, was overtaken by the enemy at Whitehall: two of our armed vessels were captured, and Colonel Long found himself compelled to destroy the others, together with all the stores, baggage, and provisions, and to make a rapid retreat to Fort Ann, about ten miles distant, leaving Burgoyne in possession of Whitehall.

Colonel Warner, with about 150 men, had been left at Hubbartown to wait until the rear guard came up, with positive orders immediately to follow with them, to a position within one mile and a half of the main body at Castletown, and to encamp there for the night. But upon the arrival of the rear guard under Colonel Francis, instead of advancing as he had been ordered, they both determined to remain where they were, until the next morning; the consequence of which was, that Brigadier General Frazer came up with them just as they were preparing to move. A skirmish immediately ensued, in which both Warner and Francis discovered great bravery, but being overpow-

ered by numbers, they were compelled to give up the ground, after an obstinate resistance of forty minutes. The Americans lost, in this affair, about two hundred, killed, wounded, and missing. Colonel Francis was among the killed. The enemy's loss was reported at 222. Both sides fought with the most vigorous courage; and the contest would have terminated in the defeat and capture of the pursuers, who were the flower of Burgoyne's army, but for the cowardly and disorderly conduct of the militia who composed the chief of the main body under General St. Clair, who could by no efforts be brought to retrace their steps to the aid of Warner. The firing was distinctly heard at Castletown; and St. Clair, than whom there never was a more brave or more unfortunate officer, instantly determined to send off two regiments to the support of the disobedient colonels, but before it was possible to persuade or force them into any thing like a feeling of sympathy with their engaged fellow citizens, the skirmish was over, and Warner on the retreat.

A party, in the mean time had been sent by Burgoyne, in pursuit of Colonel Long, who finding himself hard pressed, turned upon his pursuers, and with his small corps of one hundred and fifty men, (all the others who accompanied him being sick and convalescent) made it necessary for Colonel Hill, the pursuing officer, to "change his position," according to the phraseology of General Burgoyne, or in other words to make a rapid retrograde movement, in which he would have been certainly made prisoner, had not Colonel Long's ammunition unfortunately given out.

General St. Clair, having been diverted from his original intention by the hostile occupation of Skeens-

borough, was compelled to retreat by a circuitous route to Fort Edward, on the Hudson, where he found General Schuyler, actively employed in collecting a force to resist the further progress of the enemy, but miserably deficient in means of every sort. His whole force, until joined by St. Clair, continental troops and militia, did not amount to one thousand men; he had thirty-one boxes of musket-balls, not quite three hundred pounds of lead, and three thousand five hundred flints, and thus situated was within little more than a day's march from the head of the Lake, where Burgoyne lay with upwards of five thousand fresh troops, giving every demonstration of an intention to attack.

CHAP. II.

The events of 1777 continued.—Reflections on St. Clair's retreat.—General Schuyler removes to Stillwater—Fort Stanwix invested by Colonel St. Leger.—Brave and patriotic conduct of General Herkimer.—Arnold volunteers to go to the relief of Colonel Gansevoort.—Successful sortie of the latter.—Arnold resorts to stratagem, and forces St. Leger to raise the siege.—Battle at Bennington, and defeat of Colonel Baume.—General Schuyler again superceded in his command by General Gates.—Movements of Washington—the enemy enter the Chesapeake.—Surprise and capture of General Prescott.—Expedition of General Sullivan and Colonel Ogden on Staten Island.—Conduct of the Quakers.—Battle of Brandywine.—Proceedings of Congress.—Northern army—Advantages under which Gates took the command.—Correspondence of Gates and Burgoyne, relative to prisoners.—Miss M'Crea.—Movements of the two armies.—Action of the 19th September.

THE abandonment of Ticonderoga, which was considered as the strong hold of the northern department, excited against General St. Clair the most clamorous and undeserved censure, which, though he was honourably acquitted of all blame by the solemn decision of a competent tribunal, left a stain upon his reputation, which no subsequent event ever entirely removed. The reader has seen the difficulties and dangers with which he was surrounded, and it must be acknowledged, that he used the only means, and the only moment allowed him, of saving his army. If the evil consequences of defeat could have been confined to the simple loss of that army, it might with more show of propriety have been regarded as cowardly to fly from the threatened danger ; but the army of General St. Clair,

small and ill appointed as it was, was the *only one*, to defend the whole state of New York and the Hampshire grants, (as the state of Vermont was then called) from the incursions of the enemy: for we have already seen, that, though General Schuyler was commander in chief of the department, and had himself taken the field, his whole force was short of a thousand men. The loss of St. Clair's division would have reduced even this number, for it cannot be supposed that the militia, which made a considerable portion of it, could have been induced to stand before the victorious troops of Burgoyne, after he had destroyed their strongest ground of reliance. There would have been no *nucleus*, around which to collect another army, and Burgoyne would have marched without interruption to Albany. The reasons which General St. Clair assigned to Congress, in his letter from Fort Edward, were sufficient to satisfy the minds of all, but jealous rivals, that his retreat was the result of the soundest judgment and prudence. "It was my original design," says he, "to retreat to this place, that I might be *between General Burgoyne and the inhabitants*, and that the militia might have something in this quarter to collect to. It is now effected, and the militia are coming in, so that I have the most sanguine hopes that the progress of the enemy will be checked, and I may have the satisfaction to experience that although I have lost a post I have eventually saved a state."

The censure of *the people* did not rest upon General St. Clair alone. By some means or other, a report prevailed, wholly unfounded, that the retreat of the army had been made by order of Major General Schuyler; and he therefore came in for a full share of the *disgrace*, which it was attempted to fix upon St.

Clair. The consequence of these slanders, which were industriously circulated by the enemies of these two active and patriotick officers, was that the army was daily decreased by desertion. Both continentals and militia, fearful of trusting themselves to the command of men whose conduct was represented as weak and dastardly, left the army in large bodies; so that on the 24th of July, the army which on the 20th amounted to upwards of 6,000, had been reduced to about 2700 continentals and 1300 militia. Upon the junction of General St. Clair with General Schuyler at Fort Edward, the army returned for a few days to Fort Ann, and occupied themselves in removing the stores which had been left at Fort George. On the day of his arrival here, a proclamation which had been issued by Burgoyne, calling upon the neighbouring inhabitants to meet at Castletown for the purpose of offering their submission and receiving pardon, fell into the hands of General Schuyler, who immediately issued a counter-proclamation, setting forth the insidious designs of the enemy, and appealing in strong terms to the patriotism of his fellow citizens. The inhabitants, however, unfortunately preferred submission to resistance; and while the defection in the American army grew daily more and more alarming, numbers were flocking to the standard of the British General.

On the 22d of July General Schuyler retired with his whole army to Moses's Creek, a position on the Hudson, about four miles below Fort Edward, which had been selected by Kosciusko, Chief Engineer of the army, as the most eligible at which to await the movements of the enemy. A small island here divided the Hudson, and the high hills on each side ap-

proached so near the river, that the position might be easily defended against a superiour force. General St. Clair was posted with one division of the army on the right bank of the river, and General Arnold, who after the evacuation of the Jerseys by Sir William Howe, had joined the northern army, was stationed with another division on the left. In this situation, but for the defection before spoken of, and the general *toryism* of the neighbouring counties, General Schuyler would have been enabled to have maintained his ground, and checked the progress of a much superiour force. These circumstances, however, induced him to retire still further into the interior; and on the 30th the camp was struck and the march commenced towards Saratoga, which place the army reached on the 31st, and after halting for twenty four hours, continued the march to Stillwater, where they arrived on the 20th of August.

During all this time, General Burgoyne was marching at his leisure in the rear of Schuyler, preceded by a party of Indians, who on the 29th encountered a detachment of 160 Americans, who had been sent to destroy a bridge a few miles in the rear of Fort Edward, and threw them into such consternation, that they fled in the most dastardly manner. Major Clarkson, aid de camp to General Arnold, was severely wounded, as he was gallantly endeavouring to rally the frightened fugitives—A similar skirmish, if it may be dignified with that name, took place on the 2d of August, when our rear guard of a hundred men, under Major Hull, were fired upon by a small party of Indians, and took to instant flight. The Major, however, after great exertions, succeeded in rallying the

men, and in forcing the assailants in their turn to a precipitate retreat.

On the 27th August, General Schuyler, receiving intelligence that Fort Schuyler or Stanwix, situated at the head of the Mohawk, was invested by a British force under Colonel St. Leger, consisting of upwards of five hundred regulars, and three hundred provincials with a large body of Indians under Sir John Johnson, ordered General Arnold to its relief. General Herkimer, with about eight hundred militia, had already marched to the succour of Colonel Gansevoort, who commanded the post; but having unfortunately none of the attributes of a soldier but bravery and patriotism, he fell into an ambuscade of Indians and provincials under Sir John, and was compelled to fight under many disadvantages. His militia, however, maintained a contest of two hours, in which they displayed the coolness and courage of disciplined veterans. The General himself was mortally wounded in the onset, but refused to be carried off the field, continuing to the last to animate and encourage his brave followers. Both parties ceased firing as if by mutual consent, neither having yielded an inch. Sir John, however, claimed a victory, though the Americans made a regular and deliberate retreat, in which they carried off all their wounded, without pursuit. The vigour of the contest may be readily conceived, when it is known that of General Herkimer's party of eight hundred, *one hundred and sixty* were killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy is not known, but there can be little doubt that it was at least equally great; thirty-three of the Indians were killed, and twenty-nine wounded, among whom were many of their Chiefs.

While this action was going on, Colonel Gansevoort, an officer of great gallantry, ordered a sortie of two hundred and fifty men under Lieutenant Col. Willet, against the rear of the enemy's encampment, in which that officer succeeded in destroying a large quantity of their camp equipage and provisions, and in carrying off a quantity of their baggage, without losing a man.

General Arnold in the mean time proceeded with about eight hundred continentals to the German flats, at which place he was directed to collect such a militia force as could be induced to join him, and then move to the relief of Colonel Gansevoort. Finding however that all his efforts to draw the militia to him in any sufficient number were ineffectual, and learning that the strength of the besiegers was much greater than his own, he resorted to a stratagem which proved completely successful. A young man by the name of Cuyler, nephew to the brave but unfortunate Herkimer, had been brought in by the troops on suspicion of being a spy—he was told, that his own safety and the security of his property, which was large, depended on the fidelity with which he should execute the trust that would be reposed in him. He was instructed to present himself before St. Leger, as having narrowly escaped from capture by the Americans, and to represent the force of Arnold as being three times its real amount—with such further exaggeration of the danger that threatened the British forces, as might induce St. Leger to seek for safety in a retreat. His tale was artfully assisted by some friendly Indians, and had its proper effect upon the Tories, provincials, and Indians under St. Leger, who had no choice left him; for both officers and men

protested they would abandon him if he did not consent to an immediate retreat. They were made to believe, that Arnold was within a few miles of them with upwards of three thousand men, and such was their eagerness to escape, that St. Leger was not even allowed time to save his tents, artillery and baggage, a great part of which fell into the hands of Colonel Gansevoort. Thus was this siege which had been closely continued for eighteen days precipitately raised without a blow. The two commanding officers blamed each other for their discomfiture; and their frequent altercations would at length have terminated in a personal contest but for the interference of some of their Indian Chiefs.

The progress of Burgoyne, after leaving the Lake, was, as has been said, extremely slow, General Schuyler having taken care to leave as many obstructions in the road as possible. Arrived at Fort Edward, he found himself in a great measure destitute of provisions, and learning that the Americans had a considerable store of them at Bennington, he determined, by the advice of the *tory* Skeene, to send off a detachment to gain possession of them. He had other objects also in view, to which he had been excited by the misrepresentations of Skeene, with regard to the *loyalty* of the country about Bennington. The officer chosen for this expedition was Lieutenant Colonel Baume of the *German* troops, than whom no man could be worse fitted to accomplish the objects intended, which were (according to the instructions which afterwards fell into the hands of General Stark,) "to try the affections of the country, to disconcert the councils of the enemy, to mount Reidesel's dragoons, to complete Peter's corps, and to ob-

tain large supplies of cattle, *horses and carriages*—the latter of which his army stood much in need of, in consequence of the failure of his Canada contractors. Lieutenant Colonel Baume's corps consisted of about five hundred Germans and one hundred Indians, all ignorant of the language and topography of the country, in which they were expected to work such important events: Lieutenant Colonel Brey-men's corps of Brunswickers were posted at Battenkill for the purpose of aiding Baume, if it should be necessary. By the time of his arrival at Cambridge, General Stark had received information of his approach, and lost no time in preparing to stop his progress. For this purpose he despatched Colonel Grey with two hundred men, and prepared to follow himself with the remainder of his men under Colonels Warner, Williams, Herrick and Brush. He had scarcely advanced more than five miles when he met Colonel Greg in full retreat, and the enemy, in much larger force than he had expected, in close pursuit. He drew up his forces in order of battle, which when the enemy perceived, they halted on an advantageous rising ground, and General Stark not deeming it prudent to attack them there, sent out some small skirmishing parties, and in the confusion which this created, retired to a better position about a mile in the rear, where he encamped. Here he remained the whole of the following day, the 15th, a heavy rain all day preventing his attempting any thing more than a few trifling skirmishes. On the 16th, in the morning, he was joined by Colonel Simmons with a few militia from Berkshire county, and Colonels Nicolls, Hubbard and Stickney, from the neighbouring country with other small parties. He then detached

Colonels Herrick and Nicolls with five hundred men, to attack the enemy in their rear; and Colonels Hubbard and Stickney with three hundred others to attack them on the right and front. The attack was commenced by Colonel Nicolls about three o'clock in the afternoon, and soon became general, the remainder of the army under Stark himself moving up in the front. In his official account of the affair, General Stark (who had been a Captain under Wolfe, on the Plains of Abraham,) thus writes—"It lasted two hours, *the hottest I ever saw in my life*: it represented one continued clap of thunder; however the enemy were obliged to give way, and leave their field pieces and all their baggage behind them; they were all environed within two breast-works with artillery, *but our martial courage proved too hard for them*. I then gave orders to rally again, in order to secure the victory, but in a few minutes was informed, that there was a large reinforcement on their march within two miles. Colonel Warner's regiment luckily coming up at the moment renewed the attack with fresh vigour. I pushed forward as many of the men as I could to their assistance: the battle continued obstinate on both sides till sunset; the enemy was obliged to retreat; we pursued them till dark, and had day lasted an hour longer, should have taken the whole body of them. We recovered four pieces of brass cannon, some hundred stands of arms, and brass barrell-ed drums, several Hessian swords, *about 700 prisoners, 207 dead on the spot*."—General Stark speaks in deservedly high terms of the conduct of his men and officers, particularly of Colonel Warner, "*whose superiour skill in the action, was of extraordinary service*." Indeed it was impossible for troops to have be-

haved more bravely. General Stark himself lost his horse in the action ; and his whole loss amounted to no more than *seventy* killed and wounded. Lieutenant Colonel Baume, who commanded the enemy's forces, was among the prisoners.

This was by far the most brilliant affair which had happened in the north since the winter of 1775, and its good effects upon the spirits of the people were soon conspicuously seen. There can be no doubt, though the confession is somewhat humiliating, that General Stark's men were excited to this uncommon display of bravery, by the hopes of plunder which had been held out to them in his general orders, and the advantages of which he afterwards endeavoured to secure to them by an appeal to the commanding General. It is certain, that the success of General Stark laid the foundation of the signal victory which afterwards crowned the American arms at Saratoga, by proving to the militia, that the Hessians and Indians, so much dreaded, were not invincible ; and by checking the career of conquest which had before animated the troops of Burgoyne. But neither this ever memorable defence of Bennington, nor the gallantry of Herkimer and Gansevoort, could restore the lost popularity of the commanding General. At the very moment that he was thus placing himself in the very best possible posture of defence ; at the moment when the militia and the soldiers had recovered their confidence in his activity, courage and discretion ; and when he had taken a position at the mouth of the Mohawk, from which he could watch and arrest the progress of Burgoyne ; the Congress were passing resolutions that Generals Schuyler and St. Clair should both be ordered to repair to Head Quarters, and submit to an investigation

of the causes of their evacuation of Ticonderoga. It was in vain that General St. Clair protested that General Schuyler had no concern whatever in the retreat from the Lake—Congress had before them the fact, that at least ten thousand men had been deemed necessary for its defence, while the army of St. Clair did not amount to three thousand. But unfortunately the jealousies which prevailed in the national councils, the collision of local feelings, blinded them to the proper consideration of these facts, and their necessary consequences, and led them once more to the capricious injustice of changing the Commander of this interesting portion of the army. General Schuyler had scarcely arrived at Van Schaick's Island with his army, when General Gates appeared with authority to supersede him in the command. It has been before remarked, that the reasons assigned by some of the members of Congress, for desiring to place General Schuyler at the head of the northern army, were that he was the only man, who could exert a prevailing influence over the tories and loyalists of New York—that the people of that state, being in dispute with the eastern people on the subject of important boundaries, could not be brought to regard an eastern man with the confidence essential to the success of a commander; and it has been seen, that the people of New York had but little to do in his successes—that the militia upon whom all the credit devolves, came either from the country *in dispute*, and which was afterwards erected into a separate State, or from Massachusetts and New Hampshire. We have seen that New York, *loyal* as she was, and disaffected to the cause of independence, was no more influenced to become patriotick under the command of one of her own citizens, than

under the command of General Gates ; and we have seen, that under the same circumstances, either General Schuyler, or General Gates, might have effected all that was effected. The various changes then which were made in the northern army must be attributed to the caprices of Congress, rather than to the exigencies of the case ; and to *them*, and not to the Generals themselves, must be ascribed all the heart burnings, jealousies and squabbings which afterwards occurred, and which had so nearly succeeded in destroying the hopes of the country.—General Gates assumed the command of the northern army on the 19th of August at Van Schaick's Island, where we shall leave him for the present, to attend to the Commander in Chief.

When General Sir William Howe retired from the Jerseys, it has been seen that his troops took post on Staten Island, while the British fleet under his brother Lord Howe, lay at Sandy Hook. They both manœvered in such a manner as to defy all the conjectures of Washington as to their ultimate destination. He conceived it impossible, however, that general Howe should for a moment think of abandoning the North River and leaving General Burgoyne unprotected. All his reasoning therefore led him to guard the highlands. Daily reports were brought in of the movements of the fleet, each contradicting the other. On the 23d of July the fleet sailed from Sandy Hook ; it consisted of two hundred and sixty-seven sail, and the land forces were estimated at about sixteen thousand. The moment this event was certainly known, Washington divided his army between Corriel's Ferry, Howell's Ferry, and Trenton, supposing the attack to be intended against Pennsylvania. On the 31st of July the fleet arrived at the Capes of Dela-

ware, and the following day accounts were received that it had sailed *eastward*; from this time until the 22d August, Washington continued in the utmost perplexity, marching and countermarching his army, according to the various reported views of the enemy. At length it was ascertained that they had entered the Chesapeake. The moment this intelligence was received, Washington marched his troops, amounting to about eleven thousand, to Pennsylvania. By this time the royal army had landed at the head of Elk, and was on its march towards Brandywine; but the difficulty of obtaining horses, and other means of transporting the army, made the progress of Sir William necessarily slow, and it was not until the 8d of September that he had advanced within striking distance of the Americans. Washington had in the mean time taken a position upon Redclay-neck, about half way between Wilmington and Christiana; but upon the approach of the royal army, it was deemed advisable to change this position, and return to the east side of the Brandywine, whilst the army crossed Cladsford, in order to take possession of the heights beyond! General Washington, supposing that the enemy would attempt to cross at Chadsford, posted the main strength of his army at that place, and sent General Maxwell with one thousand men to occupy the opposite hill, upon which a slight breastwork was thrown up on the night of the 10th.

In this situation let us leave them for a moment to relate some circumstances which occurred before the departure of the royal army from Staten Island. Lieutenant Colonel Barton of a militia regiment belonging to Rhode Island, with some other officers

and volunteers to the number of forty, formed a design of surprising General Prescott in his quarters, about five miles from Newport. For this purpose they passed over from Warwick Neck to Rhode Island on the night of the 10th of July, and proceeded with such secrecy and despatch that they executed their project, and returned to the continent with the General and one of his aids before any alarm was excited among the enemy. Colonel Barton was rewarded by Congress for this spirited enterprise, with an elegant sword. Another expedition remains to be told which was planned by General Sullivan, in conjunction with Colonel Ogden, to stop the enemy's incursions into the Jerseys, in which they were constantly carrying off the inhabitants, their cattle and provisions. It was determined that Colonel Ogden with his own and Colonel Dayton's regiments, should pass up the Freshkill Creek and attack the rear of the British detachment that were encamped near the Ferry, consisting of about one hundred and fifty men under Colonel Lawrence; while the General himself with a corps of a thousand men, selected from Smallwood's and De Borre's brigades, should march to Elizabethtown Point and thence cross over. Unfortunately either the plan was not correctly understood between the two commanders, or General Sullivan did not execute his part of it as agreed upon. Colonel Ogden was informed that two regiments would be posted on the neck of land which separated the enemy's encampment from the rest of the island, so as to cut off their retreat, and commenced his attack on the morning of the 22d of August, under that impression. He soon succeeded in compelling Colonel Lawrence to retreat, but con-

trary to his expectations there was no force on the neck to oppose his flight; General Sullivan having, upon landing from Elizabethtown Point, made an unnecessary march of several miles, instead of waiting for communications with Colonel Ogden. One mistake too often leads to another, and this was peculiarly the case in the present expedition; for the Colonel having made one hundred and thirty prisoners, and possessed himself of one of the enemy's vessels, put them on board, under the care of one not very well qualified for the duty, and ordered them to Elizabethtown: those who had been left in charge of the boats which brought over General Sullivan's corps, supposing from the numerous *red coats* on board, that the vessel was still an enemy, made their escape. General Sullivan's division in the mean time, having destroyed a few stores and vessels of the enemy, proceeded to join Colonel Ogden, who having no previous notice of his approach, was for some time in doubt whether to receive him as an enemy or friend. The flight of his boats too, created such a delay in getting his men back again to Elizabethtown Point, that his rear guard of a hundred men were overtaken by the enemy, and compelled, after a brave and obstinate resistance of some time, to surrender as prisoners of war. Majors Stewart and Tillard, who commanded there, thus fell into the hands of the enemy. The whole loss of the Americans in the course of the day amounted to nearly two hundred killed, wounded and prisoners; and the only advantage gained by the expedition was the capture of about one hundred and thirty prisoners, twenty or thirty *tories*, and some records and papers of the Quakers, which being afterwards sent to Congress,

made the subject of a report, in the following terms :
“ That the several testimonies which have been published since the commencement of the present contest between Great Britain and America, and the uniform tenor of the conduct and conversation of a number of persons of considerable wealth, who profess themselves to belong to the society of people commonly called Quakers, render it certain and notorious, that those persons are with much rancour and bitterness disaffected to the American cause ; that as these persons will have it in their power, so there is no doubt it will be their inclination, to communicate intelligence to the enemy, and in various other ways to injure the counsels and arms of America; that when the enemy in the month of December, 1775, were bending their progress towards the city of Philadelphia, a certain seditious publication, addressed ‘ To our friends and brethren in religious profession, in these and the adjacent provinces, signed *John Pemberton*, in and on behalf of the meeting of sufferings, held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the 26th of the 12th month, 1776, was published, and as your committee is credibly informed, circulated amongst many members of the society called Quakers throughout the different States ; that as the seditious paper aforesaid, originated in the city of Philadelphia, and as the persons whose names are undermentioned, have uniformly manifested a disposition highly inimical to the cause of America, therefore, Resolved, that it be earnestly recommended to the supreme executive council of the State of Pennsylvania, forthwith to apprehend and secure the persons of *Joshua Fisher, Abel James, John James, James Pemberton, Israel Pemberton, John Pember-*

ton, Henry Drinker, Samuel Pleasants, Thomas Wharton, sen. Thomas Fisher, and Samuel Fisher, sons of Joshua, together with all such papers in their possession, as may be of a political nature. And whereas there is strong reason to apprehend that these persons maintain a correspondence and conversation highly prejudicial to the publick safety, not only in this State, but in the several States of America, Resolved that it be recommended to the executive power of the respective States, forthwith to apprehend and secure all persons, as well among the people called Quakers as others, who have in their general conduct and conversation evidenced a disposition inimical to the cause of America; and that the persons so seized, be confined in such places and treated in such manner as shall be consistent with their respective characters and security of their persons; that the records and papers of the meetings of sufferings in the respective States, be forthwith secured and carefully examined, and that such parts of them as may be of a political nature, be forthwith transmitted to Congress."

The unsuccessful issue of this expedition excited considerable prejudice against General Sullivan, in so much that General Washington was directed by Congress to institute a Court of Inquiry into his conduct. The result of the Court was honourable to the General; but there seems to be little doubt, that this was owing rather to the mode in which the inquiry was conducted, than to the non-existence of testimony against him. He was certainly guilty of two egregious errors, to say no more; for it is evident, if Colonel Ogden had been properly supported in the first place, the whole British detachment, against which

his attack was so judiciously conducted, must have fallen into his hands ; and the loss of his rear guard, in the second place, was manifestly owing to the want of caution and dexterity in his manœuvres—General Sullivan immediately after this joined the main army, whom we left at Brandywine, preparing to receive the enemy, who had slowly advanced from the head of Elk river.

On the morning of the 11th of September by dawn, Sir William advanced with his whole army in two columns ; the left under Lord Cornwallis, and the right under the command of General Knyphausen. The latter marched directly to Chadsford, on the hill near which General Maxwell was posted with one thousand men, and upon him the attack commenced. General Knyphausen, perceiving the necessity of dislodging him before his division could cross the river with safety, detached a party for that purpose, which Maxwell twice repulsed, but finding them reinforced, and that another party was sent round to attack him at the same moment on his flank, he was compelled to give way and retreat across the river, which he effected with a trifling loss. Knyphausen in the mean time kept up a constant cannonade, without crossing or attempting to pursue, intending to cooperate with Cornwallis, who had directed his column towards the fork of the river, with a view of gaining a position on the right flank of the American army. General Sullivan perceived this manœuvre, and forwarded early information of it to the Commander in Chief, who, supposing that he would have time to cripple the division of General Knyphausen, and thus prevent a junction of the two columns, before Cornwallis, who was aided by the presence of Sir William himself, could ac-

comply with his purpose—, ordered General Greene to the lower ford with directions to cross and attack Knyphausen; while General Sullivan was ordered at the same time to cross with his division and attack the enemy's left flank. This disposition of his troops would have secured success to Washington, but unfortunately false information was conveyed to Sullivan, and by him to the Commander in Chief, that the enemy were not marching in the direction of the fork of the river; and the consequence was, that General Greene's division was recalled, and Sullivan remained stationary. The last orders of Washington were scarcely obeyed, when it was found that the division of Cornwallis had actually crossed at the two fords, called Trimble's and Jeffery's, and that they were manœuvring to turn the right flank of the Americans, which consisted of three divisions under Sullivan. The British formed in order of battle about four o'clock in the afternoon, and after a short engagement the Americans were compelled to retreat in great confusion. As soon as the firing on the right of the line was heard, General Greene was despatched with his first brigade, under General Weedon, to the aid of Sullivan, and marched the distance of four miles in forty minutes, but even this extraordinary expedition did not bring him up in time, for before his arrival the rout of General Sullivan was complete; and all that he could do was to cover the retreat of the flying troops. In the mean time General Knyphausen took advantage of the engagement of Cornwallis to cross Chadsford, and attack General Wayne, who, with his division and the light troops under Maxwell, was entrenched on the east bank of the river. He soon forced them to retire, and possessed himself of their aban-

doned batteries and cannon.—Cornwallis pursued the divisions which had retreated before him for about a mile from the scene of action, where Greene had halted his covering troops in a narrow pass which he was determined to defend. Besides Weedon's Virginia brigade, he had Colonel Stewart's Pennsylvania regiment; and never did troops display more determined bravery. The enemy came up about an hour by sun, and the engagement lasted till the darkness put a stop to it, and gave General Greene an opportunity of retreating without fear of pursuit. By these troops it was, that the heat of the action was sustained. The loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, exceeded twelve hundred men—that of the enemy amounted to about eight hundred. In addition to their loss of men, the Americans lost ten small brass field pieces. Washington continued his retreat after the action towards Philadelphia.

A number of foreigners distinguished themselves in the service of the United States in this action. The Count Pulaski, who commanded a party of light horse, evinced the most intrepid valour, for which he was a few days afterwards made a Brigadier General, by Congress, and Commander of the Horse. The young Marquis de la Fayette also, who on the 31st of July had been made a Major General in the army of the United States, "in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family and connexions," and because of his having "at his own expense come over to offer his service to the United States, without pension or particular allowance," on this day displayed the dawning of those talents and of that undaunted bravery, which afterwards so often and so greatly distinguished him. He was in the hottest fight, and though wounded refused

to leave the field, but continued by his words and example to animate the Americans. The world has long since paid their tribute of respect to the virtues of the Marquis de la Fayette, and it cannot now be necessary to enter into his history. It is sufficient to say that he belonged to the most illustrious family in France, that he was a volunteer in the cause of human liberty, a disinterested hero; and that his many amiable qualities gained him the lasting esteem and friendship of Washington, whose constant companion he was. He had accepted the rank offered to him by Congress, on condition that he should receive neither pay nor emolument, and his was perhaps the only appointment of a foreigner to so high a rank, that did not give offence and create much dissatisfaction among the native American officers.—Several other French officers behaved with distinguished gallantry in this battle. The Baron de St. Ouary was taken prisoner.

The Cartel which had been established between General Washington and Sir William Howe, for the exchange of prisoners, was approved of by Congress early in June. On the 14th the national flag was changed to thirteen stripes, red and white, and thirteen stars in a blue field—Such as it continues to be at the present day, with the addition of one star for each State since added to the original Union. On the 20th June, Congress established a corps of Invalids, by the following resolution—a subject, the necessity of which General Washington had been long endeavouring to impress upon their minds. “Resolved, that a corps of Invalids be formed, consisting of eight companies, each company to have one Captain, two Lieutenants, two Ensigns, five Sergeants, six Corporals, two Drummers, two Fifers, and one hundred men. This corps

to be employed in garrison and for guards in cities and other places, as also to serve as a military school for young gentlemen, previous to their being appointed to marching regiments."

We have before stated that the introduction of foreigners into some of the highest situations in the army, had given great offence to a number of native American officers, who had carried their resentment so far as to threaten a resignation of their appointments and an abandonment of the cause of their country. This disposition more particularly manifested itself on the arrival of a Monsier du Coudray, who had been engaged with a number of other officers to come over, by Mr. Silas Deane, who had stipulated that Monsieur du Coudray should receive the rank of Major General, and be Commander in Chief of the Artillery and Engineers. Mr. Deane had further stipulated, that he should be under no other command but that of Congress and General Washington. All this was done by Mr. Deane without the authority of Congress, who had simply commissioned him to engage the services of *four* engineers. It did not, however, the less embarrass the Congress, who had already before them the correspondence of three of their Generals, Sullivan, Greene and Knox, holding out the threat above mentioned; and though they were not disposed to comply with the stipulations of Mr. Deane, they seemed to be still less disposed to humour the jealousies of their Generals. In this dilemma, they passed the two following resolutions: 1st, "That the President transmit to General Washington copies of the letters from Generals Sullivan, Greene and Knox to Congress, with directions to him to let those officers know that Congress consider the said letters as an attempt

to influence their decisions, an invasion of the liberties of the people, and indicating a want of confidence in the justice of Congress : that it is expected by Congress, the said officers will make proper acknowledgments for an interference of so dangerous a tendency ; but if any of those officers are unwilling to serve their country under the authority of Congress, they shall be at liberty to resign their commissions and retire." The 2d, which related to Monsieur du Coudray, and which was passed a few days afterwards, was : "That a committee of three be appointed to confer with Monsieur du Coudray ; that they inform him, Congress cannot comply with the agreement he has entered into with Mr. Deane : but sensible of the services he has rendered these States, and having a favourable opinion of his merits and abilities, they will cheerfully give him such rank and appointments as shall not be incompatible with the honour and safety of these states, or interfere with the great duties they owe to their constituents."—He was soon afterwards appointed Inspector General of Ordnance, with the rank of Major General ; but we shall see hereafter, that *rank* was not the object of this friend of liberty.

Let us now turn to the army of the North.—We have said that Major General Gates arrived at Van Schaick's Island, and took the command of the Northern army on the 19th of August. General Washington had been directed by Congress to appoint an officer to supersede Schuyler, but he declined doing so through motives of delicacy, and on the 4th August, Gates was elected by ballot. Major General Gates found the army in high spirits from the recent successes against St. Leger and Baume, and gaining daily strength from the vigorous measures of the Govern-

our of New York, General George Clinton, who ordered out the whole military force of the State, which, with the exception of eleven regiments ordered to reinforce General Putnam in the Highlands, were placed at his disposal. He came clothed by Congress with extraordinary powers, and bringing with him every testimony of the confidence reposed in him by the Commander in Chief. The following resolution will not only show the confidence reposed in General Gates, but the effect which reports, founded on prejudice and jealousy, had made upon their minds with regard to the command of General Schuyler. "Resolved, that the commanding officer in the northern department be empowered for the term of four months from the date of this resolution, *to suspend officers under his command for mal conduct, and to appoint others in their room, till such time as the pleasure of Congress can be known concerning the person or persons so suspended; and that he report to Congress with as much despatch as possible, the names of such as he may suspend, with the cause of their suspension.*" This resolution was enclosed to him in a letter of the same date, 14th August, from the President of Congress, from which the following is extracted: "Want of discipline and other disorders, too apt to prevail in a retreating army, have induced Congress to pass a resolve, empowering you to remedy those evils as far as possible, and they have for this purpose authorised you for the limited time of four months, to suspend any officers for misconduct; not doubting that before the expiration of that period, you will be able to introduce that order and subordination so necessary in a military line.—Your zeal and success in the American cause, have hitherto been so distinguished, that

it is impossible for me not to flatter myself with the expectation, that we shall ere long have the most agreeable accounts from the department where you command."—If Congress had waited only a few days longer, it is probable that the affairs of Fort Stanwix and Bennington would have been regarded as such "agreeable accounts," that General Schuyler might have been suffered to enjoy the consummation of that triumph, which they prepared for General Gates. But thus it is, that one man profits by the misfortunes of another. Both these Generals were no doubt equally competent, and the same disasters and successes, under the same circumstances, would have attended either.—General Schuyler had repeatedly urged the attention of the commander in chief to the situation of his army, but circumstances had always prevented the latter from affording the aid required. This, though attributed by some to the partiality of Washington for Gates, was beyond all question the effect of unavoidable necessity. Washington had not the men to spare, until the change in the command was made by Congress. Then, fortunately for General Gates, he was enabled to send to his assistance one of the most effective corps in the army. The following extracts from General Washington's letters, while they show that General Schuyler had not been inattentive to his duties, will at the same time prove the reliance which the Commander in Chief reposed in the aid sent to General Gates. On the 20th August he wrote thus to General Gates: "From the various representations made to me, of the disadvantage the army lay under, particularly the militia, from an apprehension of the Indian mode of fighting, I have despatched Colonel Morgan, with his corps of riflemen, to your assist-

ance, and expect they will be with you in eight days from this date. This corps I have great dependence on, and have no doubt that they will be exceedingly useful to you; as a check given to the savages, and keeping them within proper bounds, will prevent General Burgoyne from getting intelligence as formerly, and animate your other troops, from a sense of their being more on an equality with the enemy. Colonels Courtland's and Livingston's regiments are also on their way to join you, and must of course be with you in a very few days. With these reinforcements, besides the militia under General Lincoln, (which by this time must be pretty considerable) I am in hopes you will find yourself at least able to stop the progress of *Mr.* Burgoyne, and by cutting off his supplies of provision, &c. to render his situation ineligible." *** "General Schuyler's sending a reinforcement to Fort Schuyler, I think was absolutely necessary; and am of opinion, that particular attention should be paid to the inroads leading to this quarter, as a successful stroke of the enemy there, might be a means of encouraging the whole of the Six Nations to unite against us."

On the same day he wrote thus to Governour Clinton: "I am forwarding as fast as possible to join the Northern army, Colonel Morgan's riflemen, amounting to about five hundred men. These are well chosen men, *selected from the army at large*, well acquainted with the use of rifles, and with that mode of fighting which is necessary to make them a good counterpoise to the Indians, and have distinguished themselves on a variety of occasions since the formation of the corps, in skirmishes with the enemy. I expect the most eminent services from them, and am mistaken

if their presence does not go far towards producing a general desertion among the savages."

General Gates seemed to be fully sensible of the great advantages under which he took command of the army, and not at all inclined to take to himself any part of the credit which belonged to his predecessor. He had now under his orders some of the best and bravest officers of the American army—The militia of New York under the active exertions of Governor Clinton, were marching from all quarters to join him—the check which Burgoyne had received, gave him time to make the best disposition of his force: and the Indians, whose mode of fighting had before struck a panick in the army, had been so severely handled by the unfortunate Herkimer and his brave followers, that it seemed doubtful whether they would again appear in much force. On the 23d August, Colonel Morgan arrived at head quarters with his corps, which consisted of 508 officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates; Lieutenant Colonel Richard Butler, of Pennsylvania, Major Morris, of Jersey, and Major Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, were his field officers—the latter had command of a select portion of this excellent corps, of 250 men armed with bayonets.

So little intelligence had been received of the enemy at head quarters since the affair at Bennington, that General Gates remained in ignorance of their situation or movements until the 30th August, when a messenger arrived from Burgoyne, with a letter, complaining of the treatment of the prisoners taken by General Stark. This gave occasion to the hot temper and patriotick feelings of General Gates to break out in a severe retort. He replied to Burgoyne's let-

ter, and called to his recollection the many barbarities which had been practised by the savages under his orders, towards the Americans—He mentioned among others the murder of a young lady (a Miss M'Crea) who had fallen into their hands at Fort Edward, the circumstances of which he detailed in all the extravagance of high wrought feeling. He represented her as the most lovely and amiable of her sex, and to add to the horror of her fate, stated that she was dressed in her bridal robe to receive her promised husband, who was a refugee officer in Burgoyne's army, when the murderers employed and paid *by him*, laid their ruthless hands upon her. There is but little doubt that General Gates purposely exaggerated the circumstances which attended the melancholy fate of this young lady—sufficiently melancholy, indeed, without the aid of fancy. She had remained behind when the American army retreated from Fort Edward, for what purpose is a mere matter of conjecture, and unfortunately fell into the hands of two Indians, who happened to be the first to enter the town; and a quarrel arising between them concerning her, it was decided by one of the savages burying his tomahawk in her head. But whatever may have been the peculiar circumstances of this case, or whatever the enormities committed by the inhuman monsters who found her, there was no reason to suppose, that they were either encouraged or sanctioned by General Burgoyne. He had on several occasions, endeavoured to repress the ferocious tempers of the savages, and particularly in a speech which he made to them on his crossing the American line, in June; and it would be unjust to regard him as an abettor of their cruelties any further than by the mere act of employing them in his

service, and for this he had the orders of his government, and the example of his predecessor.—A reply from General Burgoyne to the accusations of General Gates, in which he entered into a minute vindication of his conduct and character, closed the correspondence between the two commanders, and on the 8th September General Gates turned to meet his enemy.

The army arrived at Stillwater on the 9th of September, fully determined to face the foe, and if necessary pursue him into his own confines. This was at first supposed to be an eligible position for throwing up a line of entrenchments, and a large party under the engineer Kosciusko, were accordingly set to work for that purpose. But upon a more narrow inspection of the grounds, the General determined to change his position, and occupy Behmus's Heights, which were taken possession of and fortified on the 12th. Burgoyne at this time lay opposite to Saratoga, occupying old Fort Miller and Battenkill; but what were his further intentions, General Gates had no means of judging. In this situation the Deputy Adjutant General, Colonel James Wilkinson, volunteered to head a select reconnoitering party, and obtain if possible the desired information. He left the camp with 170 men under cover of a dark night and arrived by day-light at Davocote, about two miles from Saratoga. Here he posted the greater part of his men in a wood near the road, and proceeded himself to the Heights of Fishkill Creek; from which position he discovered a column of the enemy drawn up under arms, on the opposite bank of the creek, within three hundred yards of him, and another column under march, descending the Heights below Battenkill. Being satisfied from these circumstances

that General Burgoyne was advancing, Colonel Wilkinson returned to camp with his party, bringing with him three prisoners, who confirmed the intelligence.

On the 15th General Burgoyne, having crossed the river some days before, had advanced as far as Davocote, where he halted twenty-four hours for the purpose of repairing the bridges and roads in his advance, for the more convenient march of his army. On the 18th General Arnold was sent out with fifteen hundred men, to harrass and impede him, but returned without accomplishing any thing; Burgoyne continuing his march until he had arrived within two miles of General Gates's camp. Here he encamped in a line extending from the river to a range of hills six hundred yards distant, and upon which were posted the *elite* of his army. The position occupied by General Gates, as described by an eye-witness, and one who knew it well, was as follows:—"His right occupied the brow of the hill near the river, with which it was connected by a deep intrenchment; his camp in the form of a segment of a great circle, the convex towards the enemy, extended rather obliquely to his rear, about three-fourths of a mile to a knoll occupied by his left; his front was covered from the right to the left of his centre, by a sharp ravine running parallel with his line, and closely wooded: from thence to the knoll at his extreme left, the ground was level and had been partially cleared, some of the trees being felled, and others girdled, beyond which in front of his left flank, and extending to the enemy's right, there were several small fields in very imperfect cultivation, the surface broken and obstructed with stumps and fallen timber, and the whole bound-

ed on the west by a steep eminence. The extremities of this camp were defended by strong batteries, and the interval was strengthened by a breastwork without intrenchments, constructed of the bodies of felled trees, logs and rails, with an additional battery at an opening left of the centre. The right was almost impracticable; the left difficult of approach."

The greater part of the intermediate space was low, open ground; that portion which intervened between the right of the enemy, and left of the Americans, was covered with woods. On the 19th in the morning, the enemy began to move, from the low ground, towards the heights occupied by the American left; upon perceiving which, Colonel Morgan was ordered to advance with his rifle corps, to hang on their front and flanks, and impede their approach by every means in his power. Major Morris, who headed the advance of this corps, fell in with the enemy's picket about 12 o'clock, which he drove in, and pursued, until he came unexpectedly upon the British line. His party were of course routed, and thrown into considerable confusion; and several of the men and officers were made prisoners. Intelligence of this being conveyed to the General, he ordered two of the New Hampshire regiments to the support of Morgan, under Colonels Cilley and Scammel. They took post on Morgan's left, and in an hour after, the action recommenced, other regiments successively engaging, until about 3 o'clock, it became general. From this hour until night the firing was incessant, without producing any apparent advantage to either side. About 3000 of the Americans were engaged, and about 3500 of the enemy, who had the further advantage of being enabled to bring four pieces of ar-

tillery into the action; while the Americans from the nature of their ground were unable to make use of their field pieces. General Poor's brigade, and Colonel Morgan's corps, opposed to Hamilton's brigade, consisting of the 20th, 21st and 62d British infantry, sustained the hottest of the action. The American loss on this day amounted to 321, killed, wounded and missing; and that of the enemy between five and six hundred. Colonel Cook's regiment of Connecticut militia, and Colonel Cilley's of New Hampshire, suffered very severely. Lieutenant Colonel Colburn, and Lieutenant Colonel Adams were both killed. But few prisoners were taken on either side: two of Morgan's officers and twenty privates fell into the enemy's hands on the first charge; and about one hundred of the enemy were captured by the Americans in the course of the day. The artillery of the enemy fell into our hands several times in the course of the action; but it was impracticable to use it against them. The British corps which served this artillery, fought with the most heroick bravery, 36 of them out of 48, being killed and wounded at the guns. It was certainly one of the warmest actions ever fought, and sustained by both sides with equal courage; night only putting an end to the contest. General Burgoyne, as was discovered by his intercepted correspondence claimed the *victory*; but it is evident, that there was no victory on either side, neither having gained a solitary advantage, or a single inch of ground.

It has been remarked, and from a source which renders the fact unquestionable, that there was not a single *general* officer on the field of battle on this day. This may be accounted for from the fact,

that the battle was wholly unexpected by either army. Burgoyne had no other object in view, in the movement which led to it, than to take such a position as should enable him to defend his provisions and baggage; and General Gates was not in a situation to wish for a general action, as he had neither completed his works of defence, nor received half the reinforcements which he expected. The mistake which the advance of Colonel Morgan's corps made, in running in upon the British line, and the necessity of sending two regiments to his support, led unexpectedly to the consequences which followed. Arnold would have been engaged, but fearful of his rashness, General Gates prohibited his interference. General Learned was ordered out late in the evening, but the action terminated soon afterwards, and before he had an opportunity of sharing much in the fortunes of the day. Had Burgoyne attacked the Americans the next morning, which it was his intention to have done, but for some dissuasive reasons offered by General Fraser, or the morning after, which he was prevented from doing by intelligence from Sir Henry Clinton, there can be little doubt that his success would have been certain and complete.

Leaving the two adverse armies thus situated, let us now turn to the commander in chief.

CHAPTER III.

Events of 1777 continued.—Meeting of the two armies of Washington and Howe on the Schuylkill.—Battle prevented by a storm.—Narrow escape of Hamilton and Lee.—Unexpected loss of Monsieur de Coudray.—General Wayne is surprised by the enemy, and suffers considerable loss.—Sir William Howe enters Philadelphia in triumph.—Congress repair to Forktown.—Further powers granted to Washington.—Lord Howe enters the Delaware.—Battle of Germantown.—Retreat of the American army.—Sir William withdraws his troops from Germantown to Philadelphia.—Sir Henry Clinton's expedition up the Hudson.—He reduces Forts Montgomery and Clinton.—Northern army.—Dispute between General Gates and General Arnold.—The latter is excluded from command.—Battle of Behm's Heights.—Retreat of Cornwallis.—Convention of Saratoga.

THE situation of General Washington, after the battle of Brandywine, was nearly as critical as any in which he found himself placed during the war. If Sir William Howe, instead of halting for three days on the field of battle, as was the case, had pursued his advantages, he might easily have overtaken him at Chester, or by a forced march have reached Philadelphia before him. But here again the evil genius of Sir William proved the salvation of the American army, which after a short rest at Chester renewed their march towards the city. Having crossed the Schuylkill, Washington moved up the river to Swedesford, where he recrossed it to meet the enemy, having intelligence that Sir William was advancing towards the Upper Fords. On the 17th, the two armies met near the Warren Tavern on the

Lancaster road, and drew up in order of battle. The Americans were about to contend against a fearful odds, against troops much more numerous, better armed, and flushed with recent victory—but the elements conspired to forbid the contest: a tremendous storm came on, accompanied by torrents of rain, which continued to pour down until the next day. The van of each army had commenced the engagement, but it lasted only a few moments, for the deluge was too great for either party to contend against; and they separated by mutual necessity. The next day, upon examination of the cartouch boxes and tumbrils of the American army, it was found that the ammunition was entirely destroyed by the wet; and while General Washington was exerting himself to remedy this loss, Sir William crossed the Schuylkill, and pursued his route towards Philadelphia. In order to prevent a quantity of flour, stowed in some mills which lay in the route Sir William had taken, from falling into his hands, Washington thought proper to order its destruction; and his aide-de-camp Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton was sent with Captain Henry Lee, and a small party of his dragoons, to accomplish that object. They were of course obliged to get in advance of the enemy, which was of itself a difficult and dangerous enterprise: the mills stood on the banks of the Schuylkill, at the foot of a long hill; and in order to arrive at them, the party had to cross a bridge over the mill-race. They succeeded in getting before the enemy, and arriving at the top of this hill, they posted two *videttes* to give them notice of the enemy's approach, and proceeded to execute their instructions. There was fortunately a flat bottomed boat lying at the mills, of

which Colonel Hamilton secured the possession, with a view to escape, if it should be necessary, and he had scarcely done so, when the signal was given by the *videttes* of the enemy's approach. The Lieutenant Colonel and four of the dragoons instantly jumped into the boat, but before the last man had embarked, the enemy were seen in full speed pursuing the *videttes* down the hill. Captain Lee with the two other dragoons, determined to attempt to recross the bridge rather than detain the boat, as the delay would have rendered escape impossible. They put spurs to their horses therefore, and recrossed the bridge, within ten paces of the enemy's front sections, and under the full fire of their carbines and pistols; while another section flew to the river side, and poured several vollies into the boat, which though it had to struggle against a strong current, reached the opposite shore in safety. Each of these young officers was for some time ignorant of the other's fate, but fortunately they both regained their camp in safety.

In the last chapter, we had occasion to mention the proceedings of Congress relative to Monsieur du Condray, who had been made Inspector General of Ordnance, with the high rank of Major General. On the day that Washington recrossed the Schuylkill with a view to meet and give Sir William battle, a letter from Monsieur du Coudray was laid before Congress, in which he requested permission for himself and several others who had accompanied him from France to fight in the American army under their protection, that they might not subject themselves to a treatment different from that belonging to the character of prisoners of war, should fortune throw them into the hands of the enemy. He asked only the rank of *Captain*

for himself, and that of Lieutenants and Ensigns for the others. This request was immediately complied with, and on the 16th September, Monsieur du Coudray set out to join the army. He had to cross the Schuylkill in a flat bottomed boat, into which, in all the ardour of anticipated glory, he jumped his fiery charger—the animal became unruly, du Coudray was unable to govern him, and he plunged with his rider into the flood. He dexterously disengaged himself from the saddle, but after much struggling, and many efforts on the part of his companions to save him, the gallant but unfortunate du Coudray sunk to rise no more. His memory was honoured by an especial vote of Congress, and his body was interred with the honours of war at the publick expense.

Washington on the 18th filed off with his army towards Reading, leaving General Wayne in the rear of the enemy. On the 19th it was determined in Council that the Commander in Chief with the main body of the army should cross the Schuylkill at Parker's ford, and endeavour to meet the enemy in front, and that General Greene, in conjunction with General Smallwood and Colonel Gist, both of the Maryland line, should endeavour to annoy the enemy's rear. In the mean time General Howe, receiving intelligence of Wayne's position in the rear of his left wing, detached General Grey, with two regiments and a body of light infantry, to surprise him on the night of the 20th—Wayne had with him a corps of 1500 men, with four pieces of artillery; General Grey came up with his left, about one o'clock on the morning of the 21st. His approach was only suspected, from the circumstance of some of the American centinels being missed, when the guard officer went his rounds—the alarm

was immediately given, and in the hurry of the moment, General Wayne paraded them in front of their fires, thus exposing them to the full view of the enemy, who rushed upon them with their bayonets, and committed great execution, before Wayne had time to make a single manœuvre. Near 300 Americans were killed and wounded, and about 80 made prisoners, among whom were several officers. The Americans lost also a large quantity of arms, and eight wagons loaded with baggage and stores; while the enemy lost only 8 killed and wounded. As soon as it was possible for General Wayne to recover from the surprise into which he had been thrown, he was enabled by the darkness of the night to escape without further loss, and join the main army.

Sir William, in the mean time, having succeeded in his stratagem of drawing Washington to a distance from the city, very unexpectedly crossed the Schuylkill at Fatland ford, on the night of the 22d, and moved on without opposition to Philadelphia, which he entered in triumph on the 26th. He had previously detached several parties of Grenadiers, Light Infantry, and Chasseurs, to cross the various fords, and by this means Washington was deceived with contradictory accounts of his movements, being nearly a day's march in his rear, at the moment he believed himself in a position to meet his front. The Congress had made their escape on the 18th and repaired to Lancaster, from which they again adjourned before the end of the month to Yorktown; having before their adjournment given still further powers to the Commander in Chief, by the following resolution: "That General Washington be authorised and directed to suspend all officers who shall misbehave, and to *fill up all va-*

cancies in the American army under the rank of Brigadiers, until the pleasure of Congress be communicated; to take, wherever he may be, all such provisions and other articles as may be necessary for the comfortable subsistence of the army under his command, paying or giving certificates for the same; to remove and secure for the benefit of the owners, all goods and effects which may be serviceable to the enemy; provided that the power hereby vested, shall be exercised only in such parts of these States as may be within the circumference of seventy miles of the head quarters of the American army, and shall continue in force for the space of sixty days, unless sooner revoked by Congress."

Upon receiving certain intelligence of Sir William's movements, General Washington moved with his army to Skippack Creek, about sixteen miles from Germantown, on the western side of which he encamped, determined to seize the first opportunity of offering battle. Lord Howe, after the battle of Brandywine, finding that his brother would no longer have occasion for the fleet in the Chesapeake, prepared with all expedition to put to sea and move round into the Delaware, that he might be ready to cooperate with the army at Philadelphia. This had been foreseen by Washington, and every precaution had been taken to obstruct the passage of the river by the erection of batteries, and the sinking of chevaux de frise, near the city. Two fortresses had been erected; one on Mud Island, and the other about three miles lower down on the Jersey side, at a point of land called Billingsport. A redoubt was also thrown up opposite to Mud Island, at a place called Red Bank; and the channel opposite to these fortifications was obstructed by hea-

vy pieces of timber forming chevaux de frise, as before said. Besides these defences, there were several galleys, and floating batteries, mounted with heavy cannon, fire ships and rafts. The fort on Mud Island was called Fort Mifflin, in honour of the General, and that at Red Bank, after General Mercer, who had been mortally wounded at the battle of Princeton.

Sir William Howe, being informed by an avant courier, of the approach of the fleet, sent Colonel Stirling with two regiments to drive the Americans from their lower position at Billingsport, which he effected without much trouble—the Americans having retired to Red Bank on his approach, after spiking the cannon and firing the barracks. This enabled one of the enemy's ships which lay off Chester to move up, and after great labour and difficulty, remove so much of the obstructions in the river as to afford a narrow passage for ships. Cornwallis with his division had followed Sir William to Philadelphia, while the main body still lay at Germantown, where they had taken post on the day Sir William entered Philadelphia. Washington rightly judging that Sir William would detach a considerable part of his force against the two forts Mifflin and Mercer, conceived the idea of advancing from Skippack and attacking the main body at Germantown. He had been reinforced by 2500 men, and moving from his position, on the evening of the 3d October, reached Germantown early on the morning of the 4th—The enemy were encamped about the centre of the town, with their left wing resting upon the Schuylkill, covered in front by the Chasseurs: The Queen's American rangers, and a battalion of Light Infantry covered the right; and the 40th regiment with another battalion of infantry, were posted on Chesnut

Hill, a short distance in advance, as an outguard. The plan of attack as devised by Washington, was in every respect calculated to ensure him success; but the fortune of the day turned upon his too easily yielding, as in many other cases, to the judgment of others. The attack commenced about sunrise, on the advance guard of the British, which were soon overpowered and compelled to retreat. Lieutenant Colonel Musgrave, in order to avoid the bayonets of the pursuers, threw himself with six companies of the 40th regiment into Chew's stone house; and this manœuvre, more than any thing, led to the unfortunate issue of the action. The Americans in full pursuit, attracted by this manœuvre, halted before the house, and a consultation ensued, whether they should continue the pursuit or stop and reduce this new fortress. It is remarkable, that all the *youngest* officers, among whom were General Reed, Colonel Pickering, Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton and Captain Lee, decided in favour of passing the house and continuing the pursuit; but General Knox, and others whose opinions were more depended on, were in favour of first carrying the house, contending that it was contrary to every principle of military science, to leave an enemy's fortress in the rear. This being determined upon, before the attack was made, it was agreed to summon the garrison to surrender, and Captain Smith of the first Virginia regiment was sent with a flag for that purpose; but the firing from the house did not cease, no attention was paid to the summons, and Captain Smith was killed as he approached with a flag in his hand. While Washington, with the main body of his army, halted before Chew's house, almost literally doing nothing, the column under General Greene came up with the right

wing of the enemy, and a spirited attack was made by Colonel Matthews, in which he completely routed the opposing party, killed a great number, and made 110 prisoners. He pursued them with ardour, but the atmosphere was so extremely dense and foggy, that objects could scarcely be distinguished at the distance of twenty yards; and being separated from his brigade in the desire of following up his advantage, his whole regiment were taken prisoners. In the mean time the Generals Grey and Agnew, with the 3d and 4th British brigades, moved in from the left wing of the enemy, and joined in the conflict against Greene: to these were soon added General Grant, with the 49th regiment, while two other regiments began an attack on the American left. The contest was hot and vigorous for a considerable time, when at length the Americans began to yield on every side: and at the moment of their turning to leave the town, Cornwallis came up with a squadron of horse, and the route was complete. The Americans were closely followed for a few miles, but the enemy were at length compelled to abandon the pursuit by the judicious management of General Stephens's artillery, which formed the rear guard of the retreating army. The loss was very considerable on both sides—of the Americans 673 were killed and wounded, and about 400 taken prisoners: General Nash, of North Carolina, was among the number of killed—the British had 800 killed and wounded, and among the former were General Agnew, and Lieutenant Colonel Bird. The troops of the Maryland line (which belonged to Sullivan's division,) greatly distinguished themselves in this battle; particularly those which were led on by General Conway. The defence of the house made by

Lieutenant Colonel Musgrave, obtained for him the applause of his country, and a complimentary letter from his Sovereign.

The failure of the Americans in this severe struggle at Germantown, has been attributed to various causes—the dilatory movements of the left column under General Greene; the foggy state of the atmosphere; and the halt of the main body before Chew's house. Each of these circumstances no doubt had some agency in the disasters of the day, more especially the last; but it must be recollected, that from the nature of the ground, the plan of attack was necessarily so complicated, that it was hardly possible for so many young and inexperienced Generals correctly to comprehend it—that the American army had for several months prior to the action suffered much fatigue and hardship; had been several times defeated; were badly armed; and but little enured to discipline. Taking all these considerations into view, it is more wonderful that they should have sustained an action of near three hours, than that they should in the end have been compelled to retreat; and thus too thought Congress, for notwithstanding the disastrous issue of the battle, they voted their thanks to the General and his army, and gave their entire approbation to his plan of assault. Washington after this affair returned to his position on Skippack Creek; while Sir William Howe, being thus made to feel the danger of dividing his forces, withdrew his troops from the scene of action, and posted them in the more immediate vicinity of Philadelphia.

In the beginning of October, Sir Henry Clinton, having received a reinforcement of 2000 men from Europe, proceeded on his long meditated expedition

up the North River, with a view to create a diversion in favour of General Burgoyne; and on the 4th landed at Tarrytown with a force of 4000 men. His object in this was to deceive General Putnam into the belief that he contemplated an attack against Peekskill, and thus prevent his affording a seasonable reinforcement to Fort Montgomery, the real object of his attack. But Governour Clinton, to whom Putnam communicated the arrival of the enemy, penetrated his design, and proroguing the Assembly, repaired on the next day to Fort Montgomery; while in the mean time Sir Henry moved his troops across the river, and on the 6th attacked the American advance at a place called Doodletown, about two miles distant. These were soon compelled to give way and retreat to the Fort, to which they were pursued by Sir Henry. About 5 o'clock in the afternoon the garrison were summoned to surrender, at five minutes warning; but the high spirited Governour answered the summons by double manning his batteries, and Sir Henry in a few minutes made a desperate assault upon Forts Montgomery and Clinton at the same instant. The little body of Americans, consisting only of about 600 continentals and militia, received the attack with great courage, and resisted the most vigorous efforts of the enemy until dark, though they were assailed on all sides, and not one half of them were armed with bayonets. They literally fought their way out of the Fort, and favoured by the night escaped to the mountains. General James Clinton, brother of the Governour, was wounded in the assault.

Being thus master of these fortresses, Sir Henry was enabled, at his leisure, to remove the expensive obstructions which had been thrown across the river,

and to destroy a considerable amount of property, both publick and private, and open himself a free passage to Albany. But contrary to all expectation, and to the complete discomfiture of Burgoyne, Sir Henry did not attempt to proceed thither. Independent of the hope which Burgoyne had of Sir Henry's immediate cooperation with him, he believed that the menace of an attack upon Fort Montgomery, would have the effect of drawing away a part of the force under General Gates at Stillwater, and thus enable him to make a second attack to greater advantage. Circumstances, however, prevented the necessity of separating any part of Gates's force, and brought on the second engagement before it would have been possible for Sir Henry Clinton to have moved to Burgoyne's assistance, if ever such had been his intention. Whatever may have been the original design of Sir Henry, or the nature of his instructions from the commander in chief, it seems to be very certain that Burgoyne was kept in the dark respecting them. It is asserted indeed that Sir William Howe, himself, knew for the first time, after his arrival in the Chesapeake, that it was expected of him to afford any cooperation to the army from Canada; and the truth is, perhaps, that Lord George Germaine, the English minister for American affairs, was too ignorant of the geography and topography of the country to know what orders to give. He must either have supposed it practicable for Sir William in the Chesapeake to have watched the progress of Burgoyne on the Hudson, or he must have believed that the north and south would both fall before these generals without a struggle.

A few days after the battle of the 19th September on Behmus's Heights, an unfortunate altercation took place between Generals Gates and Arnold, which resulted in Arnold's being deprived of his command in that army. The ostensible cause of their quarrel was a "general order" issued on the 22d September, in the following words: "Colonel Morgan's corps not being attached to any brigade or division of the army, he is to make returns and reports to head quarters only; *from which alone he is to receive orders.*" Arnold who had been in the habit of considering the whole *elite* of the army as belonging to his division, and particularly fond of commanding Morgan's corps, regarded this order as a direct insult, and resented it with great warmth. A correspondence ensued, in which Arnold demanded permission for himself and his two aids to *pass to Philadelphia*—the *pass* was immediately given, and thus Arnold's impetuous temper effected at once, what General Gates might have found it extremely embarrassing to have effected at all—his exclusion from command. He saw the advantages which General Gates had gained over him too late. So near the time of an expected battle with the enemy, to leave the army would be to endanger the reputation which he had earned for intrepid valour; to make atonement by confessing his error would be too humiliating: and in this unpleasant and awkward situation he continued with the army until after the battle of Saratoga. The command of the right wing of the army was given to Major General Lincoln on the 25th.

The battle of the 19th, though it resulted in nothing decisive on either side, brought with it important

advantages to the American army. It gave new vigour to militia preparation; the Indians in the service of the enemy, alarmed at the new adversaries they had met with in Morgan's corps, were continually deserting; and a large body of Oneida warriors offered themselves to General Gates—so that by the 4th of October, his whole force was near 11000 men, out of which something more than 7000 were fit for duty. Burgoyne's effective force was between 5 and 6000. The following letter from General Gates to the commander in chief, in reply to his request to have Colonel Morgan's corps returned to him, *if it could be spared*, besides its being interesting in other respects, will explain the situation of the two armies at this period. It is dated "Camp, Behmus's Heights, October 5th, 1777"—"Since the action of the 19th ultimo, the enemy have kept the ground they occupied the morning of that day, and fortified their camp; the advanced sentries of my pickets are posted within shot of and opposite to the enemy's; neither side having given ground an inch. In this situation, your Excellency would not wish me to part with the corps, the army of General Burgoyne are most afraid of. From the last intelligence he has *not more than three week's provision in store*; it will take him at least eight days to get back to Ticonderoga; so that in a fortnight at farthest, he must decide, whether he will really risk at infinite disadvantage to force my camp or retreat to his *den*: in either case I must have the fairest prospect to be able to reinforce your Excellency in a more considerable manner than by a single regiment. I am sorry to report to your Excellency the distress I have suffered for want of a proper supply of musket cartridges from Spring-

field, or the materials to make them. The inclosed from the commissary of ordnance stores at Albany, will convince your Excellency of the truth of this assertion. My anxiety also on account of provisions, has been inexpressible; a greater error has not been committed this war, than the changing the Commissariat in the middle of the campaign. You, Sir, must have your grievances; I therefore will not awaken them by enlarging upon mine." The change in the Commissariat here alluded to, produced the resignation of Colonel Trumbull, the Commissary General, about the middle of August. He complained of the new regulations as resulting from the intrigues of the "Yorkers and southern bashaws", and insinuates in strong terms that the President, Mr. Hancock, was under the influence of this dissatisfied junto. It is plain from the following resolutions, that Congress had made some important changes in this department, before they had properly digested their own plan.

"Resolved, that Mr. Trumbull, with the officers under him, be desired to continue in the business of supplying the army, *under the former establishment*, until the Commissaries General of purchases and issues shall signify their readiness to proceed therein under the new regulations."

"Resolved, that the President inform General Washington, that Congress never intended, by any commission hitherto granted by them, *or by the establishment of any department whatever*, to supersede or circumscribe the power of General Washington, as the commander in chief of all the continental land forces within the United States."

On the afternoon of the 7th October, the alarm drum was beat by the advanced guard of the centre,

and in a few moments the troops were under arms at their appointed posts through the line. Colonel Wilkinson being sent to inquire the cause of the alarm, and to reconnoitre, reported that a foraging party of the enemy, consisting of several columns, had advanced to within half a mile of our line of encampment, and seemed to offer battle. Upon this information, Colonel Morgan's corps were immediately despatched to begin the attack. The mode was left entirely to the discretion of Morgan, who proposed to make a circuitous march under cover of the wood, until he gained the height on the enemy's right, and there wait until a fire should be opened upon the left. This plan was adopted by the General, and General Poor's brigade of New Hampshire and New-York troops, were ordered to commence on the flank and front of the British grenadiers. As soon as the firing was heard from this quarter, Morgan began his attack upon the right of the enemy, and pressed in so closely upon them, that they were soon compelled to retire in confusion. They were led on by the Earl of Balcarras, an officer of great bravery, who soon rallied them, and drew them up again, within a short distance of their first position. By this time, however, the whole British line were attacked in front and flanks, with so much vigour, that they retreated in great disorder to their camp.

This battle lasted not quite an hour, but the contest whilst it did last was obstinate and bloody. The British grenadiers under Major Ackland, fought with a desperation that seemed determined to yield only with life, and if the resistance of the rest of Burgoyne's troops had equalled that of this gallant corps, our victory, if gained at all, must have been most dearly

purchased. They were opposed by Colonel Cilley's New Hampshire regiment, of whom it is the highest praise to say, that they contended with, and prevailed against, a body of men, every individual of whom fought with the arm of a hero. Major Ackland, who commanded this corps was shot through both legs. The British lost in this action upwards of 400 killed, wounded, and prisoners, among whom were several of their most distinguished officers. Brigadier General Frazer, and Lieutenant Colonel Breyman, who commanded the Germans, were both mortally wounded. Major Ackland, Sir Francis Clark, first Aid de Camp, Major Williams, who commanded the Artillery, and the Deputy Quarter Master General, Captain Money, were among the prisoners. Lieutenant Colonel Brooks, of General Learned's brigade, who commanded Jackson's regiment on this day, led his men into action with great spirit against the German grenadiers, who were posted behind a rail breast work—the stockades were carried at the point of the bayonet, and the Germans forced to retreat. They were followed to their encampment, and again forced to fly, leaving their whole equipage to fall into the hands of the Americans. The Brunswickers showed great cowardice in the action, having fled before a man of them was killed or wounded.—Besides their killed, wounded and captured, the British lost eight brass field pieces, a number of carts and tents, and a considerable quantity of baggage. Burgoyne himself narrowly escaped death, one shot having passed through his hat, and another through his waistcoat. He was on the field during the whole of the action, directing every movement; but neither gallantry nor skill could effect any thing against such a superiority of force.

General Gates remained in camp during the whole action, that he might be the better enabled to order and regulate the various movements, as circumstances should require.

The loss of the Americans did not exceed eighty men, killed and wounded. General Arnold was among the latter; who, though he had not been reinstated in his command since the dispute with General Gates, before mentioned, rode about the field giving orders in every direction, sometimes in direct contradiction to those of the commander, at others leading a platoon in person, and exposing himself to the hottest fire of the enemy. There seems to be little doubt, from the conduct of Arnold during the action, that he was in a state of intoxication. The mortifying situation in which he found himself at its commencement, without command or authority, sufficiently accounts for any extravagance in a spirit like his. At one time he dashed through two opposing lines, exposing himself to the fire of both sides, but miraculously escaped unhurt: at another time, placing himself at the head of a small platoon of Morgan's riflemen, he led them around into the rear of the enemy, at the moment they turned to retreat, under the hottest fire of the Americans. In this situation, his horse was killed under him, and his leg was broken. It would be doing injustice to General Arnold, traitor as he afterwards proved, to deny that he deserved some credit on this day; but though he was brave almost beyond parallel, he was rash, impetuous and headstrong, and when it is considered, that these faults of his natural temper were aggravated and heightened by the peculiar circumstances of his situation, it will not perhaps be wrong to say, that he could not have rendered any very es-

sential services to the American army, in this important contest.

On the night of the battle, General Burgoyne deemed it prudent to change his position; for the Americans had followed them to within half a mile of their encampment, and continued to cannonade them without ceasing. He determined therefore to abandon his camp and move to the high grounds, which he effected in good order and without loss. On the morning of the 8th the American army moved forward and took possession of his abandoned camp, from which they kept up a random fire of artillery and small arms during the whole day. Burgoyne's troops were all day under arms in expectation of another attack, and indicating by their movements that they intended a still further retreat. In the occasional skirmishes of the day, General Lincoln was shot in the leg by some of the enemy's marksmen.—General Frazer, who had been mortally wounded in the action of the day before, had made it his dying request of General Burgoyne, that he should "be buried at 6 o'clock in the evening, on the top of a mountain, in a redoubt which had been built there." At 6 o'clock, therefore, the corpse was carried to the mountain, attended by all the Generals. The Baroness Reidesel, who was a witness to this mournful scene, thus describes it in her narrative, as it has been translated by General Wilkinson, who was himself also on the ground: "the Chaplain, Mr. Brudenel, performed the funeral service, rendered unusually solemn and awful, from its being accompanied by constant peals from the enemy's artillery. Many cannon balls flew close by me, but I had my eyes directed towards the mountain, where my husband was standing amidst the fire of the

enemy, and of course I could not think of my own danger." The Baroness adds, that "General Gates afterwards said, that if he had known it had been a funeral, he would not have permitted it to be fired on." This is undoubtedly true; for in General Gates' character were embraced all the attributes of a *soldier*, in the most liberal sense of the term. If General Burgoyne had communicated his desire to do honour to the deceased by a military burial, the party engaged in the service would have been freed from all risk by the cessation of the cannonade—It was probably this circumstance which prevented General Burgoyne from retreating so soon as he would otherwise have done; as the moment the ceremonies of interment were completed, the whole army moved off on the road to Battenkill, leaving behind all their sick and wounded, to the number of 300.

A singular oversight in the American officers had left their men without provisions during the whole of the 8th, and prevented the possibility of an immediate pursuit. On the 4th, three days provisions had been issued to the men, and ordered to be cooked; and the action of the 7th and the succeeding events had taken away both from officers and men all remembrance of the fact, nor until exhausted by fatigue and hunger on the evening of the 8th, did they recollect that their three days allowance was consumed. The 9th, therefore, was employed in preparing provisions, and ammunition, and equipping for the pursuit. In the course of the day a flag arrived from the retreating army, bearing the following letter from General Burgoyne to the American commander, which was probably written before he took up his encampment, but delayed to be sent for obvious reasons, until he was on the

march. "Sir—The state of my hospital makes it more advisable to leave the wounded and sick officers whom you will find in my late camp, than to transport them with the army. I recommend them to the protection which I feel I should show to an enemy in the same case." This was addressed to "*M. Genl. Gates*," though in his official despatches to England, General Burgoyne had always affected to call our Generals by the simple title of *Mister*. This letter, though it showed General Burgoyne not inattentive to his duty, was scarcely necessary to ensure to the wounded prisoners the most humane attention from General Gates. About 10 o'clock at night of the same day, another flag approached the advance guard on the river under Major Dearborn. It was borne by the lady of Major Ackland, who had anxiously solicited to be placed under the protection of General Gates, for the purpose of attending to her wounded husband. She was also the bearer of a letter from General Burgoyne, of which the following is a copy, from the *fac simile*, preserved by General Wilkinson in his interesting memoirs.—"Lady Harriot Ackland, a lady of the first distinction by family rank, and by personal virtues, is under such concern on account of Major Ackland her husband, wounded and a prisoner in your hands, that I cannot refuse her request to commit her to your protection.—Whatever general impropriety there may be in persons acting in your situation and mine to solicit favours, I cannot see the uncommon perseverance in every female grace, and exaltation of character of this Lady, and her very hard fortune, without testifying that your attentions to her will lay me under obligation." Some of the English historians, and General Burgoyne himself, have repre-

sented the reception and treatment of this lady by the guard, as disgraceful to the character of soldiers, and her detention a whole night from her husband as an unnecessary cruelty, of which none but Americans could be guilty. We refer to the *memoirs* just spoken of, to wipe off this slanderous imputation, and place the incident in its proper light. Major Dearborn, who commanded the guard, himself furnished the account, and his veracity is beyond dispute. It was by orders from head quarters, that Major Dearborn detained the flag until the morning, and these orders were given because the night was exceedingly dark, and the quality of the bearer unknown. "His guard occupied a cabin, in which there was a back apartment appropriated to his own accommodation; the party on board the boat attracted the attention of the centinel, and he had not hailed ten minutes, before she struck the shore; the lady was *immediately* conveyed into the apartment of the Major, which had been cleared for her reception; her attendants followed with her bedding and necessaries, a fire was made, and her mind was relieved from the horrors which oppressed it, by the assurance of her husband's safety; she took tea, and was accommodated as comfortably as circumstances would permit; and the next morning when I visited the guard before sunrise, her boat had put off, and was floating down the stream to our camp, where Generat Gates, whose gallantry will not be denied, stood ready to receive her with all the tenderness and respect to which her rank and condition gave her a claim; indeed, the feminine figure, the benign aspect, and polished manners of this charming woman, were alone sufficient to attract the sympathy of the most obdurate. But if another motive could have been

wanting to inspire respect, it was furnished by the peculiar circumstances of Lady Harriot, then in that most delicate situation, which cannot fail to interest the solitudes of every being possessing the form and feelings of a man: it was therefore the foulest injustice to brand an American officer with a failure of courtesy where it was so highly merited. Major Ackland had set out for Albany, where he was joined by his lady."

Previous to the action of the 7th, General Gates, anticipating the retreat of the enemy, had ordered Brigadier General Fellows, with 1300 men, to cross the river, and take post on the heights opposite the Saratoga ford, supposing that he might be able to reinforce him before Burgoyne could reach the place. But the retreat of the British army being earlier than he expected, and the circumstances before related preventing him from pursuing immediately with the main army, or sending off any considerable detachment, General Fellows was placed in a critical situation, and nothing saved his detachment from destruction or capture, but the very slow movements of Burgoyne, occasioned by a heavy rain during the night of the 8th, and the badness of the roads, which compelled him to halt at Davocote, so that he did not reach Saratoga until the morning of the 9th. By this time General Fellows had received orders to recross the river and endeavour to oppose their passage, which he did just as the front of the British army entered Saratoga, and in time to post himself advantageously on the opposite bank of the river. On the evening before, his camp was so entirely unguarded, that Lieutenant Colonel Southerland, who had been sent forward by Burgoyne to reconnoitre, marched around it without meeting with a centinel, and was so strongly

impressed with the conviction that he could surprise him, that he solicited permission to attack him with his single regiment; and it was perhaps fortunate for General Fellows that Burgoyne refused.

In the mean time several other bodies of militia were posted, to intercept the retreat of Burgoyne, in various directions, and one detachment was ordered to march immediately to Fort Edward, and take possession before any part of Burgoyne's troops could reach it. A rain on the 10th prevented General Gates from marching until the afternoon. When the front of the army reached Saratoga, about 4 o'clock, the British were encamped on the heights beyond the Fishkill: their boats lay at the mouth of the creek, and a fatigue party were at work in removing the baggage from the creek to the heights. General Fellows with his corps were on the opposite bank of the river, with a couple of small field pieces on the plain, playing upon the enemy's fatigue party. General Gates on his arrival, posted the army in several lines on the heights, about a mile in the rear of the Fishkill, with Colonel Morgan's corps in front. Under the idea that the enemy would retreat in the night, General Gates gave orders that the army should advance at *reveille* in the morning of the 11th. A small detachment had been sent off by Burgoyne to possess themselves of Fort Edward, but finding it occupied by the Americans had returned to camp: the movement of this detachment had given rise to the information which deceived General Gates, that the whole British army had moved off, leaving a small guard only in the camp to take care of the baggage and stores. Upon this intelligence it was determined to attack the camp early in the morning; and

Brigadier Generals Nixon and Glover were ordered to cross the creek with their brigades for this purpose.

Colonel Morgan advancing with his corps at daylight agreeably to orders, fell in with the enemy's picket by whom he was fired upon, and lost a lieutenant and several privates. This induced him to suppose that the enemy had not moved as was supposed, in which case his situation would be extremely critical, as the fog was so thick that nothing could be seen at the distance of twenty yards; a winding creek was in his rear, and he was unacquainted with the grounds. In this dilemma he was met by the Deputy Adjutant General, Colonel Wilkinson, who had been sent out by the General for the purpose of reconnoitering. Wilkinson returned immediately to communicate this intelligence to the General, and Patterson's and Learned's brigades, both under the command of the latter, were sent to the support of Morgan. In the mean time the whole army had advanced as far as the ridge between the church and General Schuyler's house where they halted. Generals Nixon and Glover were in advance, marching according to orders, to the attack of the camp. Nixon had already crossed the creek, and Glover was preparing to follow him, when a deserter from the enemy was observed fording the creek, from whom information was received that Burgoyne with his whole army was still in his camp. This was confirmed by the capture of a reconnoitering party of a subaltern and 35 men, by the advance guard of 50 under Captain Goodale of Putnam's regiment, who discovered them through the fog just as he reached the bank of the creek, and making a resolute charge upon them took them without firing a gun.

The General was at this time a mile in the rear, and before this intelligence could be communicated to him, and orders received for the two brigades to desist and recross the river, the fog cleared up, and exposed to view the whole British army under arms. A heavy fire of artillery and small arms was immediately opened upon Nixon's brigade, which was in advance, and they retreated in considerable disorder across the creek, with a trifling loss, and resumed their position.

General Learned had in the mean time reached Morgan's corps with his two brigades, and was advancing rapidly to the attack, in obedience to a standing order which had been issued the day before, "That in case of an attack against any point, whether front, flank or rear, the troops are to fall on the enemy at all quarters." He had arrived within 200 yards of Burgoyne's strongest post, and in a few minutes more would have been engaged under great disadvantages, when Colonel Wilkinson reached him with intelligence that our right had given way, and that it would be prudent for him to retreat. Being without authority from the General to order it, the brave old General hesitated to obey, in opposition to the standing order, until Lieutenant Colonels Brooks and Tupper and some other officers coming up, a sort of council was held, and the proposition to retreat was approved. The moment they turned their backs, the enemy who had been calmly expecting their advance, opened a fire upon them which was continued until they were masked by the wood. They retreated about half a mile, with Morgan on their left, and encamped in a strong position, which they held until the surrender of the British army.

Large quantities of baggage, provision, ammunition, and other articles had fallen into the hands of the Americans, since the action of the 7th, which had excited, and particularly in the militia, such eagerness for plunder, that the General was constrained on the 12th to issue the following general order. "The General sees so many scandalous and mean transactions committed by persons who seek more after plunder than the honour of doing their duty in a becoming and soldier-like manner, that he is obliged to declare his unalterable resolution, to have the first person who shall hereafter be detected pillaging the baggage and stores taken from the enemy, tried and punished with the utmost severity of the military law. Officers who know their duty and have virtue to practise it, will not be seeking plunder, when they ought to be doing their best service in the field; it is only the worthless and the pilfering that are so truly infamous. For the future all plunder taken from the enemy is to be delivered to Lieutenant Colonel Hay, Deputy Quarter Master General, who is to give a receipt for the same, and after three days publick notice in general orders, it shall be sold by auction in the most central place in the rear of the army; and the money for which the plunder is sold, shall be properly and fairly divided, to such persons as, in the impartial judgment of the General, have a right to receive a share: when there is a sum sufficient to divide among the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the whole army, they may be assured of such having their just quota."

The following letter from Major General Gates to the British commander on the 12th, furnishes an interesting example of that combination of courtesy and candour, which marked the character of this Ame-

rican chief. While he pays due respect to the exactions of polite society, he does not hesitate to tell the most disagreeable *truths* to his correspondent. —“Sir, I had the honour to receive your Excellency’s letter by Lady Ackland. The respect due to her Ladyship’s rank, the tenderness due to her person and sex, were alone sufficient recommendations, to entitle her to my protection; and considering my preceding conduct, with respect to those of your army, whom the fortune of war has placed in my hands, I am surprised your Excellency should think, that I could consider the greatest attention to Lady Ackland in the light of an obligation.

“*The cruelties which mark the retreat of your army, in burning the gentlemen’s and farmers’s houses as it passed along, is almost, among civilized nations, without precedent; they should not endeavour to ruin those whom they could not conquer; their conduct betrays more of the vindictive malice of a monk than the generosity of a soldier.*

“Your friend Sir Francis Clark, by the information of Dr. Potts, the Director-General of my hospital, languishes under a very dangerous wound; every sort of tenderness and attention is paid to him, as well as to all the wounded, who have fallen into my hands, and the hospital which you were necessitated to leave to my mercy.

“At the solicitation of Major Williams, I am prevailed upon to offer him and Major Milborn in exchange for Colonel Ethan Allen. Your objection to my last proposals for the exchange of Colonel Ethan Allen, I must consider as *trifling*, as I cannot but suppose that the Generals of the royal ar-

mies act in equal concert with those of the armies of the United States.

“The bearer delivers a number of letters from the officers of your army, taken prisoners in the action of the 7th instant.”

To this letter General Burgoyne replied by a short note, saying that an excuse should be sent as soon as possible; and on the following day, a message was received, desiring to know at what time General Gates would receive a field officer whom General Burgoyne was desirous of sending. Major General Gates somewhat inconsiderately agreed to receive the field officer at his head quarters, at 10 o'clock on the 14th; but reflecting on the impropriety of admitting his adversary to so close an inspection of his army, he sent Colonel Wilkinson to meet him at the advanced post, and receive his message. Major Kingston, however, the messenger of Burgoyne, refused to make known the purport of his message, and insisted on the promise of General Gates to receive him at head quarters: he was therefore blindfolded and conducted thither. General Gates recognized an old acquaintance in Major Kingston, and received him with cordiality. He had committed his message to writing, and read it to General Gates as follows:

“The General from a great deal of business did not yesterday answer your letter about the officers, but intended it.—

“In regard to the reproaches made upon this army of burning the country, they are unjust; General Schnyler's house and adjacent buildings remained protected till General Gates's troops approached the ford; General Burgoyne avows the order for setting

fire *at that time* to every thing that covered the movement.—

“The barracks particularly, took fire by mere *accident*, and measures were taken, though ineffectual, to save them. If there has been any vindictive spirit in burning other buildings on the march, it has probably been employed by some secret well wishers to the American cause, as General Burgoyne has been informed, some of the buildings belonged to supposed friends of the King. The General does not think that General Gates has a right, from any thing that has appeared in his conduct or reasoning, to make use of the term *trifling*; and he still persists, that he cannot interfere with the prisoners in General Howe’s army, and more especially in a case that has been under negotiation between General Howe and General Washington.”—So much in reply to General Gates’s letter of the 12th, Major Kingston thus continued:

“I am directed to represent to you from General Burgoyne, that after having fought you twice, he has waited some days in his present position determined to try a third conflict against any force you could bring to attack him.—

“He is apprised of the superiority of your numbers, and the disposition of your troops to impede his supplies, and render his retreat a scene of carnage on both sides. In this situation he is impelled by humanity, and thinks himself justified by established precedents, of state and war, to spare the lives of brave men upon honourable terms; should Major General Gates be inclined to treat upon that idea, General Burgoyne would propose a cessation of arms, during the time necessary, to communicate the prelimi-

nary terms, by which in any extremity he and the army mean to abide."

It is a remarkable fact, and shows the judicious foresight of General Gates, that he had already prepared a schedule of the terms upon which he was willing to treat with General Burgoyne. It shows that he was well acquainted with the state of the British army, their distress for the want of supplies, the impossibility of their being able to escape the toils with which he had surrounded them, and the necessity which would urge Burgoyne to propose terms of surrender. The following were General Gates's propositions.

"1st. General Burgoyne's army being exceedingly reduced by repeated defeats, by desertion, sickness, &c. their provisions exhausted, their military stores, tents and baggage, taken or destroyed; their retreat cut off, and their camp invested, they can only be allowed to surrender prisoners of war.

"2d. The officers and soldiers may keep the baggage belonging to them. *The Generals of the United States never permit individuals to be pillaged.*

"3d. The troops under his Excellency General Burgoyne, will be conducted by the most convenient route to New England, marching by easy marches, and sufficiently provided for by the way.

"4th. The officers will be admitted on parole, may wear their side arms, and will be treated with the liberality customary in Europe, *so long as they by proper behaviour continue to deserve it*; but those who are apprehended having broken their parole, (*as some British officers have done,*) must expect to be close confined.

"5th. All publick stores, artillery, arms and ammunition, carriages, horses, &c. must be delivered to commissioners appointed to receive them.

"6th. These terms being agreed to and signed, the troops under his Excellency General Burgoyne's command, may be drawn up in their encampment, when they will be ordered to ground their arms, and may thereupon be marched to the river side, to be passed over in their way towards Bennington.

"7th. A cessation of arms to continue till sunset, to receive General Burgoyne's answer."

Major Kingston, upon reading these propositions, at once declared that they could not be submitted to, and was extremely averse to be the bearer of them to General Burgoyne, but General Gates insisted, and humiliating as was the office, the Major was compelled to take them to the General. On the evening of the same day, he returned with Burgoyne's answer to the propositions of Gates, and the preliminary articles proposed by himself.

To the 1st proposition Burgoyne replied: "Lieutenant General Burgoyne's army however reduced, will never admit that their retreat is cut off, while they have arms in their hands." 3d. "This article is answered by General Burgoyne's first proposal, which is hereunto annexed." 4th. "There being no officer in this army under, *or capable of being under*, the description of breaking parole, this article needs no answer." 5th. "All publick stores may be delivered *arms excepted*." 6th. "This article *inadmissible in any extremity; sooner than this army will consent to ground their arms in their encampment, they will rush on the enemy determined to take no quarter*." The following message accompanied these answers: "If General Gates does not mean to recede from the

1st. and 6th. articles of his proposals, the treaty to end, and hostilities immediately to commence." Having thus answered Major General Gates's proposals, General Burgoyne offered on his part the preliminary articles which follow ; *all of which*, with a slight modification of the 1st. and 5th. were agreed to by General Gates.

" 1st. The troops to march out of their camp with the honours of war, and the artillery of the intrenchments, which will be left as hereafter may be regulated.

" 2d. A free passage to be granted to this army, to Great Britain upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest, and a proper post to be assigned for the entry of transports to receive the troops, whenever General Howe shall so order.

" 3d. Should any cartel take place by which this army or any part of it may be exchanged, the foregoing article to be void as far as such exchange shall be made.

" 4th. All officers to retain their carriages, batt horses and other cattle, and no baggage to be molested or searched, the Lieutenant General giving his honour, that there are no publick stores secreted therein. Major General Gates will of course take the necessary measures for the security of this article.

" 5th. Upon the march the officers are not to be separated from their men, and in quarters the officers are to be lodged according to rank, and are not to be hindered from assembling their men for roll callings, and other necessary purposes of regularity.

" 6th. There are various corps in the army composed of sailors, batteauxmen, artificers, drivers, in-

dependent companies, and followers of the army, and it is expected that those persons of whatever country, shall be included in the fullest sense and utmost extent of the above articles, and comprehended in every respect as British subjects.

“7th. All Canadians and persons belonging to the establishment in Canada, to be permitted to return there.

“8th. Passports to be immediately granted for three officers, not exceeding the rank of Captain, who shall be appointed by General Burgoyne to carry despatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carlton, and to Great Britain by way of New-York, and the publick faith to be engaged that these despatches are not to be opened.

“9th. The foregoing articles to be considered only as preliminaries for framing a treaty, in the course of which others may arise to be considered by both parties, for which purpose it is proposed, that two officers of each army shall meet and report their deliberations to their respective Generals.

“10th. Lieutenant General Burgoyne will send his Deputy Adjutant General to receive Major General Gates’s answer, to-morrow morning at 10 o’clock.”

To the 9th article General Gates affixed the following answer—“The *capitulation* to be finished by 2 o’clock, *this day*, the 15th, and the troops march from their encampment at 5, and be in readiness to move towards Boston to-morrow morning.” These preliminary articles and their answers being sent to General Burgoyne, produced the immediate return of his messenger with the following note. “The eight first preliminary articles of Lieutenant General Bur-

goyne's proposals, and the 2d, 3d, and 4th of those of Major General Gates of yesterday, being agreed to, the formation of the proposed treaty is out of dispute, but the several subordinate articles and regulations necessarily springing from these preliminaries, and requiring explanation and precision, between the parties, before a definitive treaty can be safely executed, a longer time than that mentioned by General Gates in his answer to the 9th article, becomes indispensably necessary. Lieutenant General Burgoyne is willing to appoint two officers immediately to meet two others from Major General Gates to propound, discuss, and settle those subordinate articles, in order that the treaty in due form may be executed as soon as possible.

"N. B. Major Kingston has authority to settle the place for the meeting of the officers proposed."

To the request contained in this note General Gates consented; and Brigadier General Whipple, of the militia, and Deputy Adjutant General, Colonel Wilkinson, were appointed on his part, to meet Lieutenant Colonel Nicholas Southerland, and Captain James H. Craig, both of the 47th, on the part of General Burgoyne. The meeting took place on the afternoon of the 15th, and the parties mutually agreed upon, signed, and exchanged articles of *capitulation*. But this term, it seems, did not suit the delicacy of General Burgoyne: *capitulation* meant rather more than he was willing to think his situation required; and on the night of the 15th, a few hours after the meeting had broken up, Colonel Wilkinson received the following note from *one* of the party, which as it afterwards appeared, had been written without the knowledge or consent of the other.—"Sir, Upon reporting

the proceedings of this evening to Lieutenant General Burgoyne, I was happy to receive his approbation of and ready concurrence in every article that has been agreed on between us ; it however appears upon a retrospect of the treaty, that our zeal to complete it expeditiously has led us into the admission of a term in the title very different from his meaning, and that of the principal officers of the army who have been consulted on this important occasion. We have, Sir, unguardedly called that a treaty of *capitulation* which the army means only as a treaty of convention. With the single alteration of this word, Lieutenant Colonel Southerland and myself will meet you at the stipulated time to-morrow morning, with the fair copy signed by General Burgoyne.

“ I hope, Sir, you will excuse my troubling you so late, but I thought it better than by my delay to prevent the conclusion of a treaty which seems to be the object of both parties, and which may prevent the further effusion of blood between us. I beg your immediate answer, and am, &c. &c.” signed, James Henry Craig.

General Gates made no objection to this substitution of the term *convention* for *capitulation*, and the treaty was supposed to be at an end. The whole army had been apprised of the negotiation, and it was universally believed that Burgoyne must submit to surrender upon any terms. The consequence was, that several regiments of militia, whose terms of service had expired, left the camp without permission, and returned home ; the whole army had given themselves up to indolence and carelessness, and it is doubtful whether an attack at this moment might not have changed the circumstances of the two armies very much

in favour of Burgoyne. At this critical moment, to the astonishment of the whole army, General Burgoyne sent the following message to Major General Gates.

“In the course of the night Lieutenant General Burgoyne has received intelligence that a considerable force has been detached from the army under the command of Major General Gates, during the course of the negotiation of the treaty depending between them. Lieutenant General Burgoyne conceives that, if true, to be not only a violation of the cessation of arms, but subversive of the principles on which the treaty originated, viz. a great superiority of numbers in General Gates’s army. Lieutenant General Burgoyne therefore requires that two officers on his part be permitted to see that the strength of the force now opposed to him is such as will convince him that no such detachments have been made, and that the same principles of superiority on which the treaty first began, still exists.”

Upon the receipt of this message, General Gates despatched Colonel Wilkinson, with authority to answer it *as he thought proper*. The account of his reception, the message which he planned and delivered, and the circumstances attending his meeting with General Burgoyne, as given in his “Memoirs,” are so interesting that the reader will be pleased to see it in the language of the messenger himself.

“A youth, in a plain blue frock, without other military insignia than a cockade and a sword, I stood in the presence of three experienced European Generals, soldiers before my birth; Phillips had distinguished himself, and received the thanks of Prince Ferdinand at Minden in 1759; Burgoyne had served with credit under Count la Lippe on the Tagus, in 1762, and Rei-

desel was an *eleve* of the Duke of Brunswick ; yet the consciousness of my inexperience did not shake my purpose, and I had conceived in my mind the following message, which I delivered verbatim to Lieutenant General Burgoyne from Major General Gates, and afterwards furnished a copy of it. ‘Major General Gates in justice to his own reputation, condescends to assure your excellency, that no violation of the treaty has taken place on his part since the commencement of it, the requisition, therefore, contained in your message of this day, is inadmissible: and as it now remains with your excellency to ratify or dissolve the treaty, Major General Gates expects your immediate and decisive reply.’

“This message was respectfully received, and some conversation ensued, which gave me an opening to observe, ‘that his excellency must entertain an humble opinion of Major General Gates’s professional knowledge, or he would not have demanded permission for two of his officers critically to examine his numbers and of consequence his position, whilst the British army had their arms in their hands, and that General Gates could not but conceive it was trifling with him.’ This drew out General Burgoyne into a most eloquent vindication of his proceedings—‘Not only his own individual reputation, but the service of the King his master, and the honour of the British arms, enjoined on him the most cautious circumspection:’ he analysed the various species of intelligence, from the vague camp rumour, and the reports of deserters, up to authentick information, which last he averred was the nature of that he had received the preceding night ; he spoke in high terms of the resolution of his

army, and ended by saying, "General Gates has no idea of the principle and spirit which animates the army I command; there is not a man in it, I assure you Colonel Wilkinson, who does not pant for action."—"But," I replied to him, "what can the courage of a handful of men avail against the numbers you see on the hills beyond the river, and those which surround you? who, I can assure your excellency, are with difficulty restrained from falling on you at all quarters, in the hope of dividing the spoils of your camp," and after a moment's pause, I added, "Be pleased, Sir, to favour me with your determination?" He answered, "I do not recede from my purpose: the truce must end." "At what time, Sir?" "In one hour." We set watches, and on taking leave I observed, "After what has passed, General Burgoyne, there can be no treaty; your fate must be decided by arms, and General Gates washes his hands of the blood which may be spilled." "Be it so," said he, and I walked off with most uncomfortable sensations; for our troops were much scattered, having encompassed the British army three parts out of four; the men had got the treaty into their heads, and had lost their passion for combat, and what was worse, we had been advised of the loss of Fort Montgomery, and a rumour had just arrived that Esopus was burnt, and the enemy proceeding up the river; but I had not proceeded fifty rods, when Major Kingston ran after me and hailed; I halted, and he informed me that General Burgoyne was desirous to say a few words to me; I returned, when he addressed me by observing, that "General Gates had, in the business depending between them, been very indulgent, and therefore he would hope for time to take the opinion of his general officers in a case of

such magnitude to the two armies ; as it was far from his disposition to trifle in an affair of such importance." General Phillips then spoke, "Yes, Sir, yes Sir, General Burgoyne don't mean to trifle on so serious an occasion ; but he feels it his duty to consult his officers." I asked what time he would require ? He mentioned two hours ; and we again set watches, and I returned, promising to wait at our picket for his answer.

"The interview with General Burgoyne had been spun out to such length, that General Gates became uneasy, and I found a messenger waiting at our picket, to know what I had done. I reported in brief, what had passed and what was depending ; and took a station near the ruins of General Schuyler's house, where I walked, and expected with much anxiety the result of General Burgoyne's consultation ; the two hours had elapsed by a quarter, and an aid de camp from the General had been with me to know how matters progressed ; soon after, I perceived Lieutenant Colonel Southerland opposite to me and beckoned him to cross the creek ; on approaching me, he observed, "Well, our business will be knocked on the head after all." I enquired why ? He said, "the officers had got the devil in their heads, and could not agree." I replied gaily, "I am sorry for it, as you will not only lose your fusee, but your whole baggage." He expressed much sorrow, but said he could not help it. At this moment I recollected the letter Captain Craig had written me the night before, and taking it from my pocket, I read it to the Colonel, who declared he had not been privy to it ; and added with evident anxiety, "Will you give me that letter ?" I answered in the negative, and observed, "I

should hold it as a testimony of the good faith of a British commander." He hastily replied, "Spare me that letter, Sir, and I pledge you my honour I will return it in fifteen minutes." I penetrated the motive, and willingly handed it to him; he sprang off with it, and directing his course to the British camp, ran as far as I could see him: in the mean time I received a peremptory message from the General, to break off the treaty if the convention was not immediately ratified. I informed him by the messenger, that I was doing the best I could for him, and would see him in half an hour. Colonel Southerland was punctual to his promise, and returned with Captain Craig, who delivered me the convention, with an additional article, specifically to include himself, which I engaged should be admitted by General Gates, and immediately sent to General Burgoyne. I then returned to head quarters, after eight hour's absence, and presented to General Gates the important document, that made the British army conventional prisoners to the United States, which, together with a return, founded on authentick documents now in my possession, of the forces which surrendered, is deemed worthy of record in this place.

Articles of Convention between Lieutenant General Burgoyne and Major General Gates.

"1st. The troops under Lieutenant General Burgoyne to march out of their camp with the honours of war, and the artillery of the entrenchments, to the verge of the river where the old fort stood, where the arms and artillery are to be left; the arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers.

“2d. A free passage to be granted to the army under Lieutenant General Burgoyne to Great Britain, on condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest; and the port of Boston is assigned for the entry of transports to receive the troops, whenever General Howe shall so order.

“3d. Should any cartel take place, by which the army under General Burgoyne, or any part of it, may be exchanged, the foregoing article to be void as far as such exchange shall be made.

“4th. The army under Lieutenant General Burgoyne, to march to Massachusetts Bay, by the easiest, most expeditious, and convenient route; and to be quartered in, near, or as convenient as possible to Boston, that the march of the troops may not be delayed, when the transports arrive to receive them.

“5th. The troops to be supplied on their march, and during their being in quarters, with provisions, by General Gates's orders, at the same rate of rations, as the troops of his own army; and if possible the officers' horses and cattle are to be supplied with forage at the usual rates.

“6th All officers to retain their carriages, batt-horses and other cattle, and no baggage to be molested or searched; Lieutenant General Burgoyne giving his honour that there are no publick stores secreted therein. Major General Gates will of course take the necessary measures for the due performance of this article. Should any carriages be wanted during the march, for the transportation of officers' baggage, they are, if possible, to be supplied by the country at the usual rates.

“7th. Upon the march, and during the time the army shall remain in quarters in Massachusetts Bay,

the officers are not as far as circumstances will admit to be separated from their men. The officers are to be quartered according to rank, and are not to be hindered from assembling their men for roll call and other necessary purposes of regularity.

“8th. All corps, whatever, of General Burgoyne’s army, whether composed of sailors, batteauxmen, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and followers of the army, of whatever country, shall be included in the fullest sense and utmost extent of the above articles, and comprehended in every respect as British subjects.

“9th. All Canadians, and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment, consisting of sailors, batteauxmen, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and many other followers of the army, who come under no particular description, are to be permitted to return there; they are to be conducted immediately by the shortest route to the first British post on Lake George, are to be supplied with provisions in the same manner as the other troops, and are to be bound by the same condition of not serving during the present contest in North America.

“10th. Passports to be immediately granted for three officers not exceeding the rank of captains, who shall be appointed by Lieutenant General Burgoyne, to carry despatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton, and to Great Britain, by the way of New-York; and Major General Gates engages the publick faith, that these despatches shall not be opened. These officers are to set out immediately after receiving their despatches, and are to travel the shortest route, and in the most expeditious manner.

“11th. During the stay of the troops in Massachusetts Bay, the officers are to be admitted on parole, and are to be allowed to wear their side arms.

“12th. Should the army under Lieutenant General Burgoyne find it necessary to send for their clothing and other baggage to Canada, they are to be permitted to do it in the most convenient manner, and the necessary passports granted for that purpose.

“12th. These articles are to be mutually signed and exchanged to-morrow morning, at 9 o'clock, and the troops under Lieutenant General Burgoyne are to march out of their entrenchments at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

(Signed) HORATIO GATES, Major General.

(Signed) J. BURGOYNE, Lieutenant General.

Saratoga, Oct. 16th, 1777.

“To prevent any doubts that might arise from Lieutenant General Burgoyne's name not being mentioned in the above treaty, Major General Gates hereby declares, that he is understood to be comprehended in it, as fully as if his name had been specifically mentioned.

HORATIO GATES.”

The brass artillery captured from Burgoyne at various times during the campaign, amounted to 42 pieces, constituting one of the most elegant trains ever brought into the field; 5000 stand of arms, 6000 dozen of cartridges, and a number of ammunition wagons, travelling forges, shot, carcasses, shells, &c. also fell into the hands of the Americans. The whole number of troops surrendered by the convention amounted to 5,763, which added to the number killed, wounded, and captured, in the several actions previous to the 17th October, amounting to near 5000, makes Burgoyne's total loss upwards of *ten thousand men*.

We have been thus particular in relating the circumstances of this surrender, as they came under the knowledge of one who bore a large share in the transactions, not only because the account was in itself interesting, but because we shall have occasion hereafter to refer to some of its minutest facts, to explain the various reports which grew out of it, to the prejudice of both the Generals. On the morning of the 17th the troops of Burgoyne were marched out of their camp to the plain near the river, where their arms were deposited; and the victorious Americans took possession of their lines.

CHAPTER IV.

Events of 1777 continued.—Conduct of the British up the Hudson—They retire to New York.—General Gates's letter to General Vaughan—Anecdote of a Spy—Movements of Washington and Sir William Howe—Attack on Fort Mercer, and gallant defence of it by Colonel Greene.—Enemy establish themselves on Province Island—Heroick determination of Colonel Smith, and the garrison of Fort Mifflin—Gallant conduct of Major Thayer—Mud Island evacuated—Lord Cornwallis is sent against Red Bank—Fort Mercer abandoned—Americans compelled to destroy their gallies—Sir William Howe moves towards White Marsh—Skirmish there—returns to Philadelphia—Washington goes into winter quarters at Valley forge.—Distresses of the American army.

THE little band of Americans who garrisoned Forts Montgomery and Clinton, being driven from those posts by the overwhelming force of Sir Henry Clinton, and having demolished Fort Constitution and burnt their two ships, without authority, retired with Governour Clinton to Butter hill. Here this brave and patriotick officer, used every exertion to collect a sufficient force to stop the further progress of the enemy. But the situation of General Gates's army prevented any reinforcement being sent from that quarter; and though the militia from Connecticut came in in large numbers, they deserted almost as soon as they arrived, so that there was nothing to obstruct the progress of Sir Henry to Albany, if he had been inclined to profit by the advantages which he had gained. Instead of pursuing his course up the river, however, he sent General Vaughan and Sir James Wallace, with a squadron of light frigates, and 8,600 men, to

destroy and lay waste the country. On the 13th of October they landed at Esopus, (or Kingston,) where the Americans had a battery of three guns, which they spiked and abandoned, on the approach of the enemy, being too weak to attempt a defence. This fine and flourishing village was reduced to a heap of ashes : not a house in it was left standing. General Vaughan here received intelligence of the fate of Burgoyne's army, and had abundant time to have joined him with his forces, or at least to have placed himself in the rear of Gates, and thus have rendered his situation disagreeable ; but after the destruction of the town, and many of the beautiful country seats of gentlemen on the banks of the river, he retired with the fleet and army to New York.

Immediately after the convention of Saratoga, General Gates moved on to Albany, to be in readiness to meet the enemy, should they proceed up the river. From this place, on the 19th, he addressed the following letter to General Vaughan—" Sir,—With unexampled cruelty you have reduced the fine village of Kingston to ashes, and most of the wretched inhabitants to ruin. I am informed you also continue to ravage and burn all before you on both sides of the river. Is it thus your King's Generals think to make converts to the royal cause ? It is no less surprising than true, that the measures they adopt to serve their master, have the quite contrary effect. Their cruelty established the glorious act of independence, upon the broad basis of the general resentments of the people.

" Abler Generals and older officers than you can pretend to be, are now, by the fortune of war, in my hands ; their fortune may one day be yours, when,

Sir, it may not be in the power of any thing human, to save you from the just revenge of an injured people."

A singular incident, which is worthy of notice as it shows the ingenious devices which war calls into practice, occurred while Governour Clinton lay at New Windsor, anxiously watching the progress of the enemy. His guards fell in with and took two Spies who were going with intelligence from Sir Henry Clinton to Burgoyne. One of them made confession of his instructions; but Governour Clinton was afterwards given to understand that he had *swallowed* the letter, with which he had been charged to Burgoyne. The Governour immediately ordered a dose of tartar emetic to be administered to him, the operation of which brought up a small *silver bullet*, in which was enclosed the letter !

Sir William Howe having withdrawn his forces from Germantown, and concentrated them in the vicinity of Philadelphia, began to see the necessity of dislodging the Americans from Forts Mifflin and Mercer, in order to effect a free passage for his brother's fleet, which, as we have seen, came into the Delaware, after landing the army at the head of Elk. Washington had, in the mean time, advanced to White Marsh, where the weak state of his army compelled him to wait the issue of the northern campaign, that he might receive a reinforcement from General Gates. Here his whole attention was turned to the defences of the Delaware. It was his desire to place himself on the heights of the Schuylkill, so as to have forced the enemy from the annoying position which they had taken on Province Island; but his hospitals and stores at Bethlehem, Reading, and their vicinities, required the whole of his present force to protect them, and he

was obliged therefore to content himself with sending a small reinforcement to the most important of the two posts, namely that on Mud Island. This reinforcement under Lieutenant Colonel Simms of the sixth Virginia regiment had to pass Red Bank, at which place they were to embark in boats and cross over to Mud Island.

Lieutenant Colonel Simms had crossed the Delaware with his detachment, a little below Bristol. Upon arriving at Moore's Town, which he reached about ten o'clock at night, he was informed that a party of the enemy were crossing the river at Cooper's ferry, opposite Philadelphia, and about eight miles below him. With a view therefore to ascertain the fact, upon which the safety of his detachment depended, he took with him a small escort of dragoons and proceeded to the ferry. He could discover no enemy; but he found a party of militia, which had been stationed at the ferry, *every man asleep*, without even so much as a centinel to hail his approach: having roused them, he returned to his detachment and continued his march towards Red Bank. He had passed the ferry only a few miles, when a detachment of Hessians under Count Donop crossed, to whom the militia must have fallen an easy prey, but for his timely interruption of their unguarded slumbers. Colonel Simms reached Fort Mercer on the following evening, having Count Donop still only a short distance in his rear. Satisfied that it was the Count's intention to attack the Fort next day, he volunteered to remain with Colonel Greene, of the Rhode Island line, the gallant commandant of Fort Mercer, and aid him in his defence of the post. Colonel Greene accepted his offered services, and made such a disposition of their united force,

as seemed best calculated to withstand the expected assault. In the course of the night, however, it occurred to Colonel Greene, that he should be disappointing the expectations of the Commander in Chief, who had destined the reinforcement under Simms, for Fort Mifflin, a much more important post, if he should retain them to his own aid ; and in the morning, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of Lieutenant Colonel Simms and his whole detachment, who were burning with desire to share in the dangers of the defence, he insisted that the latter should pursue his destined course, and leave him to his own means.

Count Donop had arrived some hours before this heroic determination of Colonel Greene to rely exclusively upon his own strength, and was actively engaged in preparing his attack ; and to the circumstance of Colonel Simms's leaving the garrison at this moment may be attributed the glorious issue of the assault. Donop was deceived by it into a belief, that the whole garrison was attempting to escape. Under this impression, without waiting to complete his preparations, he rushed upon a portion of the works which the last arrangements of Colonel Greene had rendered it necessary for him to abandon, and finding these deserted, he was still further confirmed in his fatal error. He pushed on to the very muzzles of the guns, which now opened upon him with such tremendous effect, that the assailants turned back in dreadful dismay : Count Donop himself was mortally wounded, and the number killed was more than equal to the whole force under Colonel Greene. The Hessians also suffered very severely in their retreat, by the fire from the American gallies and floating batteries ; and two of the British squadron which had been

employed to second the attack of Count Donop were lost, one of them, the *Augusta* ship of the line, accidentally took fire and was wholly consumed, the other, the *Merlin* sloop of war, grounded, and being hastily evacuated was purposely destroyed. Several officers and a number of men perished in attempting to save themselves from these vessels.

Nothing occurred during the war more brilliant than this defence of Fort Mercer. Colonel Greene's force amounted to no more than 400 men. The detachment under Count Donop consisted of three battalions of grenadiers, the regiment of Mirback, and a considerable number of light infantry and chasseurs. Congress were duly impressed with the merits of Colonel Greene, as will appear by the following resolution passed a few days afterwards. "Resolved, that Congress have a high sense of the merit of Colonel Greene and the officers and men under his command, in their late gallant defence of the Fort at Red Bank on the Delaware river, and that an *elegant sword* be provided by the board of war, and presented to Colonel Greene." It was not the fortune of Colonel Greene, however, to receive this sword. Various circumstances prevented its being provided, till long after the death of this gallant patriot and soldier, when it was presented to his son.

Lieutenant Colonel Simms after leaving the fort, embarked his men in the boats and batteaux provided for them, and reached Mud Island in safety. The enemy were in the mean time strengthening their works on Mud Island, and erecting heavy batteries of thirty two pounders within four hundred yards of the American defences. The fort on this Island had been entrusted to Count d'Arenat; but this offic-

er being obliged to give up the command from severe indisposition, it devolved on Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Smith, of Maryland, who with 250 men and about 30 militia, defended the post for more than a month against the almost daily attempts of the enemy both by land and water. The reinforcements under Colonel Simms, which he received on the 23d of October, increased his force to about 400 men. His first care had been to examine the grounds of Province Island upon which it was most probable the enemy would erect their works of assault, and to put up block houses and such other defences as his time and means would allow. With these, aided by the cooperation of Commodore Hazlewood, who commanded the galleys and floating batteries, Lieutenant Colonel Smith with great bravery sustained the repeated assaults of the enemy until the completion of their heavy batteries on the 9th of November. The block houses being soon battered down by these, and a considerable breach being made in the walls on that side, it became a serious apprehension to Lieutenant Colonel Smith, that an attempt would be immediately made to storm the fort. His garrison, which had never from the first been competent to withstand a close assault, was now considerably weakened by constant watching, fighting and working—the enemy had succeeded in getting one of their large ships between Province and Mud Islands, and the American Commodore absolutely refused making any attempt to drive them from that position, alleging that a single broadside might destroy all his galleys—In this desperate situation, Colonel Smith wrote to the Commander in Chief, advising the withdrawal of the garrison; but Washington, in the hourly expectation of a reinforcement from General

Gates, of whose signal success he had heard, refused to listen to the proposal, and Colonel Smith assembled a council of his officers to determine on the course to be pursued. They unanimously and heroically resolved, that, in the event of the enemy's forcing the outer works, they should retire to the entrenchment in the centre of the Fort, and there, if quarter should be refused them, apply a match to the magazine and immolate themselves with their enemy.

On the 11th of November, the enemy being in possession of the heights above the Schuylkill, continued, from these, from their heavy batteries on Province Island, and their large ship in the main passage between, to play upon the fort with redoubled efforts. In the course of the day, a spent cannon ball knocked down a part of the walls of the fort, which falling upon Colonel Smith, wounded and bruised him so severely that he was compelled to retire. The command now devolved on Lieutenant Colonel Simms, who had so gallantly volunteered his services at Fort Mercer, and who maintained the defence with continued firmness until the 13th, when he was relieved by Lieutenant Colonel Russell, of the Connecticut line; but this officer finding from his weak state of health, that he would be wholly unable to support the fatigue which such a trust demanded, requested to be immediately recalled, and on the 14th he was relieved by Major Thayer, of the Rhode Island line, who volunteered for this desperate service.

Brigadier General Varnum, who had been some days before posted in Jersey, near Red Bank, with the command of all the troops below Philadelphia, had received orders from the Commander in Chief to defend Mud Island to the last extremity, without sacri-

ficing the garrison ; and Major Thayer arrived, with a knowledge of these orders, and a resolute determination to maintain his stand to the last moment. He was an officer as skilful as he was brave, as indefatigable as he was patient, prudent and vigilant. He endeavoured to animate his men, consisting of only 300, by inspiring them with his own hopes of a successful defence, and by placing before them the rewards with which their victory would be crowned. He was diligent in repairing as far as possible during the night, the breaches which had been made during the day, and seemed determined to render the conflict a desperate and deadly one. During the night of the 14th, two of the enemy's ships were brought up the east channel so as to attack the works in front, while two others forming a battery of 23 twenty four pounders, made their way up the narrow western channel, so as to cooperate with the batteries on Province Island, and thus completely enfilade the works of Fort Mifflin. Several frigates were also drawn up against the fort on the Jersey shore, intended to flank the men of war stationed there and prevent the escape of the garrison. The morning of the 15th saw a tremendous fire opened from all these batteries upon Thayer's little garrison, who supported the shock like men who had devoted themselves to destruction—by noon, all the batteries of the fort were levelled to the ground, and the men were thus exposed without a single defence. In the course of the afternoon, Major Thayer succeeded in sending all his garrison ashore, except 40 men, whom he retained until midnight, when having succeeded in removing the greater part of his stores, he set fire to the barracks, and escaped with his little band to Fort Mercer. He had in vain applied to Com-

modore Hazlewood for assistance ; that officer, whether from a justifiable prudence, or a culpable fear of danger, kept his gallies out of the reach of the enemy's shot.

In the course of the various assaults upon Fort Mifflin, upwards of 250 Americans were killed and wounded. It was an important post, and the necessity of holding it appeared so strong, that it had been determined by a council of war to relieve it at all hazards, on the very night it was necessarily abandoned. It was perhaps fortunate that the attempt was not made, as it might and in all probability would have brought on a general engagement, for which Washington was certainly not at that time prepared. The defence made by Lieutenant Colonel Smith gained him the applause of the Commander in Chief, and the approbation of Congress, who voted him a sword ; but this gallant and high minded officer refused to accept it, because the value of the present had been cheapened by a similar offer to Commodore Hazlewood, who, in his opinion, as well as in that of most of the army, merited rather the censure of Congress for his cowardice. Moses Porter, who has since risen to the rank of Brigadier General, and who performed such eminent services for his country in the late contest with the same power, was at that time a *Sergeant* in the garrison of Fort Mifflin—Let the knowledge of this fact stimulate our soldiers of the present day, to conduct themselves so as to deserve the applause of their officers and their country, assured that merit will sooner or later raise them to the highest hopes of their ambition.

After the repulse of Count Donop, Sir William Howe had determined to send a stronger force against

the fort at Red Bank ; and being now freed from all apprehension on the opposite side by the possession of Mud Island, he sent Lord Cornwallis with a considerable detachment, who crossed the river on the 19th November. Fort Mercer being now the only defence against the free passage of the river to the enemy's shipping, and the only protection to our own naval force, it became of serious importance to preserve it if possible. Washington therefore, with a view to counteract the operations of Lord Cornwallis, despatched Major General Greene with a respectable force into Jersey, with the expectation that he would be able in time to reinforce him with the troops expected from the north. In this, however, he was disappointed : the expected reinforcements did not arrive, and being too weak to contend against Lord Cornwallis, whose force had been considerably increased during his march by the arrival of troops from New-York, he was compelled to abandon the hope of stopping his progress. Left to himself, Colonel Greene would still have defended his little fort to the last ; but being overruled by the Generals appointed to give their advice, the fort was evacuated, and left to fall into the hands of Cornwallis. The American vessels and gallies having thus lost their only protection, seventeen of them were abandoned by their crews and destroyed : a few were saved by creeping up along on the Jersey shore in the night, and getting beyond the reach of the enemy's batteries.

The Marquis de la Fayette, who had accompanied General Greene into Jersey, before the retreat of the army, on the 25th November, at the head of a small party of riflemen and militia attacked a much

superiour force of Hessians and British grenadiers, and compelled them to retreat. The Marquis was still suffering from the wound which he had received at Brandywine; and this gallant conduct being reported to Congress, they resolved to give him the command of a division.

While the detachment from the northern army, consisting of the New England brigades, were at Fishkill on their way to join the Commander in Chief, 200 of the New Hampshire troops refused to cross the river until they were furnished with *money and breeches*. They had paraded before their barracks under arms, with a determination to resist the authority of their officers. Captain Beal who fearlessly exerted himself to suppress the mutiny, was mortally wounded; but a little resolution on the part of the officers soon silenced the mutineers, who joined their companions, and continued their march.

On the 4th of December, Sir William Howe advanced with his army from Philadelphia towards White Marsh, with a view, as it was supposed, of drawing out Washington to an engagement. The American army at this time were in a deplorable condition, in want of almost every thing necessary to their comfort. One half of them were without breeches, shoes and stockings, and several thousand of them were without blankets. It was therefore extremely desirable to the Commander in Chief to get them as soon as possible into winter quarters. While in this situation the enemy appeared on Chesnut Hill, within three miles of the camp at White Marsh. Here they remained several days, making occasional demonstrations of an assault, and at length, changing their ground they encamped in front of the most vul-

nerable part of Washington's position. At this moment a general engagement was deemed unavoidable; but a slight skirmish with the troops under Cornwallis, and the light troops on our left was all that the enemy attempted. Washington's account of the affair is thus given on the 10th—"I had reason to expect Howe was preparing to give us a general action. On Friday morning his troops appeared on Chesnut Hill; at night they changed their ground. On Sunday from every appearance, there was reason to apprehend an action. About sunset, after various marches and counter marches, they halted, and I still supposed they would attack us in the night, or early the next morning; but in this I was mistaken. On Monday afternoon they filed off, and marched towards Philadelphia. Their loss in skirmishing was not inconsiderable. *I sincerely wish they had made an attack*, the issue would in all probability, have been happy, for as policy forbade our quitting our posts to attack them."

In this skirmish, Major Morris, who had borne so conspicuous a part in the dangers and glories of Morgan's rifle regiment in the north, was mortally wounded. His death was deeply deplored by the whole army.

It is probable that Sir William Howe was greatly deceived as to the numbers and strength of Washington, which deterred him from risking a general battle; but though Washington himself wished it, the destitute condition of the greater part of his troops, would have placed them on very unequal grounds, notwithstanding the strength of his position, with the victorious, well-clothed troops of Sir William. His not giving battle was attended with as much advantage to the Americans, as if he had met with a par-

tial defeat, inasmuch as it showed him afraid of our strength, and gave to our troops a stronger confidence in themselves. Washington himself was astonished at Sir William's retreat, and observed that it would have been better for him to have "*fought without victory*" than thus to declare his inability."

On the 11th, Washington moved with his army to Swedesford; here in looking about for the most eligible spot for establishing his winter quarters, he selected Valley Forge, about sixteen miles from the comfortable city quarters of his adversary, and in the midst of the richest country of Pennsylvania. This spot possessed every advantage which nature could give it, and it remained only for the Commander in Chief to exert his comprehensive mind in adopting the best means of sheltering his men from the weather. The want of clothing among his troops was so urgent, that he here for the first time made use of the powers vested in him by congress, and issued warrants to the officers to seize whatever they could find useful to the army; and on the 19th, he removed to Valley Forge, every step of his soldiers marked by the blood of their naked feet, on the frozen ground. The plan he had chosen for sheltering them, was a novel experiment, and many of his officers at first regarded it as ridiculous and chimerical; but every thing is easy to patient industry and fortitude. In a short time the men felled the trees around them, and erected a town of huts, in which, if they did not enjoy all the comforts of their well housed adversaries, they were at least comfortably sheltered from the inclemencies of the weather, and enured to the hardships of a soldier's life. Here he employed the winter in endeavouring to teach his soldiers discipline, and to guard them

gainsat the effects of idleness and disease. He seized the present moment to have his whole army inoculated for the small pox, and nearly half his troops had actually gone through this terrible disease, before his enemy knew that such a scheme was intended. He was himself at all times present to watch and encourage them; and with the most unremitted attention applied himself to the promotion of their comfort in every thing.

Now it was that the change in the Commissariat department began to be severely felt—the soldiers were sometimes for days without a mouthful of bread; and nothing can more clearly demonstrate the fitness of Washington for his great and responsible charge, than the fact of his being able under such circumstances to keep his army together. On the 23d, there was but one purchasing Commissary in his camp, and according to his letter of that date, “he had not a single hoof of any kind to slaughter, and not more than twenty-five barrels of flour, and could not tell where to expect any. The present commissaries, (he continues) are by no means equal to the execution of the office, or the disaffection of the the people is past all belief. The change in that department took place contrary to my judgment, and the consequences thereof were predicted. No man ever had his measures more impeded than I have, by every department of the army. Since the month of July, we have had no assistance from the Quarter Master General, and to want of assistance from this department, the Commissary General charges great part of his deficiency. We have by a field return this day, no less than 2898 men in camp unfit for duty, because they are barefooted and otherwise naked.”

Our whole strength in continental troops, (including the Eastern brigades, which have joined us since the surrender of Burgoyne) exclusive of the Maryland troops sent to Wilmington, is no more than 8200 in camp fit for duty. Since the 4th, our number fit through hardships, particularly on account of blankets, (numbers have been, and still are obliged to sit up all night by fires instead of taking comfortable rest in a common way) have decreased near 2000 men.—Upon the ground of safety and policy, I am obliged to conceal the true state of the army from publick view, and thereby expose myself to detraction and calumny. There is as much to be done in preparing for a campaign, as in the active part of it.”

It is hardly credible, and yet such is the fact, that while the army were thus suffering for every article of clothing, packages of them were lying at various places in great abundance ; but such was the defect of management, that no teams or means of transportation could be procured, to carry them to Valley Forge.

CHAPTER V.

Events of 1777 continued.—Proceedings of Congress.—Resignation of the President.—Henry Laurens appointed President.—Colonel Wilkinson delivers a message to Congress from General Gates.—Is brevetted a Brigadier General.—General Mifflin resigns as Quarter Master General.—Board of war appointed.—Mr. Silas Deane recalled.—General Conway appointed Inspector General.—Discontent of the officers.—Confused state of the finances.—Articles of confederation.

It will be recollected that Mr. Peyton Randolph, who had been first elected President of Congress, was prevented from accepting that high and honourable office, by private reasons, which obliged him for a time to absent himself from Congress. It has been hinted that Mr. Hancock was fixed upon as his successor, not so much for his talents and devotion to the cause of independence, as with a view to ensure the fidelity of a man of influence and fortune, who had on several occasions shown a disposition to regulate his political sentiments by the relative *strength* of the contending parties. He was elected, under the general impression that this gratification of his love of popularity, would fix him in the interests of Congress; but it was also hoped and expected, that knowing the preference of that body for Mr. Randolph, delicacy would induce him to resign his seat on the return of that gentleman to the house. In this they were disappointed: Mr. Randolph returned, but Mr. Hancock showed no disposition to give up the honours of his situation; and for the first year no man could have acquitted himself with more satis-

faction to the friends of liberty, or with more credit to himself. The subsequent intrigues of the royalists, particularly of the New-York junto, as it was called, gained him over in a great measure to their cause, and he was found upon all occasions to favour their views and measures. Finding that he was losing the ground which he had so long held in the public estimation, instead of retracing his steps and shaking off the connexion which was rendering him obnoxious to his colleagues, he at length on the 29th of October offered his resignation. He took leave of Congress in a short speech, in which after modestly avowing his consciousness, that his abilities had not entitled him to that distinction, he proceeds: "Every argument conspired to make me exert myself, and I endeavoured by industry and attention to make up for every other deficiency. As to my conduct both in and out of Congress in the execution of your business, it is improper for me to say any thing. You are the best judges. But I think I shall be forgiven, if I say I have spared no pains, expense or labour, to gratify your wishes, and to accomplish the views of Congress. My health being much impaired, I find some relaxation absolutely necessary, after such constant application; I must therefore request your indulgence for leave of absence for two months. But I cannot take my departure, gentlemen, without expressing my thanks for the civility and politeness I have experienced from you. It is impossible to mention this without a heartfelt pleasure. If in the course of so long a period as I have had the honour to fill this chair, any expression may have dropped from me, that may have given the least offence to any member, as it was not intended, so I hope his candour

will pass it over. May every happiness, gentlemen, attend you both as members of this house and as individuals; and I pray heaven that unanimity and perseverance may go hand in hand in this house; and that every thing which may tend to distract or divide your councils, may be forever banished."

It is remarkable that this speech occasioned almost as much debate in Congress, as is usual in the British Parliament on a notice for an address to his Majesty. A resolution was passed directing the Secretary to wait upon the President and ask for a copy of his speech. When this was handed in, an answer was proposed, which stirred up all the republican blood of the house, and was finally rejected as degrading to the character of freemen. A resolution was then moved, "*that it is improper to thank any President for the discharge of the duties of that office.*" Upon this motion the States were equally divided. It was then moved and carried, six states to four, "That the thanks of Congress be presented to John Hancock, Esq. for the unremitted attention and steady impartiality which he has manifested in the discharge of the various duties of his office as President, since his election to the chair, on the 24th day of May, 1775." These little circumstances serve to show the character of the times, and the jealousy of our steady republican fathers of every thing that could tend to lessen their notions of independence.

On the 1st of November Congress proceeded to the election of a successor to Mr. Hancock, and made choice of Henry Laurens, Esq. of South Carolina, a gentleman of eminent talents and of undoubted republican principles.

Colonel Wilkinson, who was the bearer of despatches from General Gates to Congress, was sent for by that body on the 31st of October; and concluding from various questions which were put to him by some of the members, that they were disposed to regard the convention of Saratoga in a light unfavourable to General Gates, he requested time to arrange the papers in his possession, and was ordered to attend them again on the 3d of November. He had, in the mean time, under authority given to him by General Gates, and with the advice of the General's friends, Samuel Adams and James Lovell, prepared the following *message from General Gates*: "I have it in charge from Major General Gates to represent to the honourable the Congress, that Lieutenant General Burgoyne, at the time he capitulated, was strongly intrenched in a formidable post, with twelve days' provision: that the reduction of Fort Montgomery, and the enemy's consequent progress up the Hudson river, endangered our arsenal at Albany; a reflection which left General Gates no time to contest the capitulation with General Burgoyne, but induced the necessity of immediately closing with his proposal, hazarding a disadvantageous attack, or retiring from his position for the security of our magazine. This delicate situation abridged our conquest, and procured Lieutenant General Burgoyne the terms he enjoys. Had our attack been carried against General Burgoyne, the dismemberment of our army must necessarily have been such as would have incapacitated it for further action. With an army in health, vigour and spirits, Major General Gates now waits the commands of the honourable Congress."

Along with this message Colonel Wilkinson laid before Congress sundry papers relative to the convention, most of which have already been given to the reader. All these papers it appeared, had some how or other made their way not only to Congress but to the army under the Commander in Chief, some time before they were officially communicated; and it had been asserted by many that the terms allowed to Burgoyne were more favourable than the great superiority of General Gates would justify. Arnold was suspected of being at the bottom of the rumours to the prejudice of General Gates, and no doubt with some truth. Whether the statement of Colonel Wilkinson really satisfied the doubts of Congress, and removed their unfavourable impressions or not, they at least appeared to be satisfied, and voted that a gold medal should be struck in commemoration of the convention and presented to General Gates. They at the same time voted their thanks to Gates, Lincoln, and *Arnold*, the latter of whom, from what has been seen, was to say the least, but doubtfully entitled to them. On the 6th, they rewarded Colonel Wilkinson with the brevet of a Brigadier General.

Major General Mifflin had, on the 8th of October, in consequence of the impaired state of his health, requested permission to resign both his appointments of Major General, and Quarter Master General. No notice was taken of his letter until the 7th of November, when it was "Resolved, that Major General Mifflin's resignation of the office of Quarter Master General be accepted, but that his rank and commission of Major General be continued to him, without the pay annexed to that office, until further order of Congress."

On the 27th in pursuance of a resolution sometime before laid before Congress, they proceeded to the establishment of a board of War, consisting of Major General Gates, as President, Major General Mifflin, Colonel Timothy Pickering, Colonel Joseph Trumbull, and Richard Peters, Esq. and granting permission to General Gates to officiate at the board or in the field, as occasion might require. To this board, Brigadier General Wilkinson was made Secretary.

The conduct of Mr. Silas Deane, one of the commissioners to the Court of France, had on many occasions been such as to excite the resentment of Congress. His unauthorised contracts with individuals of France, had more than once led them into considerable embarrassment, and it now became necessary to the support of their authority, that he should be recalled. At the time that Monsieur du Coudray had presented himself before Congress, claiming appointments for himself and *fifty* others, under the stipulations of Mr. Deane, a motion was made for his recall, which did not prevail. In September another motion to the same effect, bottomed upon a report of the committee of foreign affairs, was introduced; but the terms of it being considered as too harsh, another was substituted on the 21st of November, in the following words—“Resolved, that Silas Deane Esq. be recalled from the Court of France, and that the committee of foreign affairs be directed to take proper measures for speedily communicating the pleasure of Congress herein to Mr. Deane and the other Commissioners of the United States at the Court of France.”—On the 27th, John Adams was chosen to supply his place.

A blameable tenderness for the reputation of Mr. Deane, and a want of proper respect to themselves,

produced a trifling on this subject, unworthy of the representatives of an independent people. The naked recall of Mr. Deane, as above recorded, was on the 8th of December softened down into the following resolution. "Whereas it is of the greatest importance, that Congress should at this critical conjuncture, be *well informed of the state of affairs in Europe*; and whereas Congress have resolved that the hon. Silas Deane Esq. be recalled from the Court of France, and have appointed another Commissioner to supply his place there: Ordered, that the committee for foreign affairs write to the hon. Silas Deane Esq. and direct him to embrace the first opportunity of returning to America, and upon his arrival to repair with all possible despatch to Congress." Thus they endeavoured to make it appear, that Mr. Deane was brought home for the purpose of giving them *correct information* of the state of affairs in Europe.

On the 13th of December General Conway, who had been for some time urging to Congress the propriety of appointing inspectors of the army, was made Inspector General, with the rank of Major General in the army. This unexpected promotion gave great and general offence to the officers of the army, all the Brigadiers of which remonstrated against it in strong terms. They accused him of originating an intrigue to remove Washington from the command. This accusation was founded upon some expressions which Conway had used in a letter to General Gates, reflecting on the conduct of the Commander in Chief, and a copy of which had by some unknown means been communicated to the army. Conway was an old man and an old soldier, sufficiently vain to think himself better qualified than any other person to manage the

affairs of the army, but it is hardly probable he had any hope or design to effect a removal of Washington, by reflecting on what he considered the weakness of his measures. Whatever were his intentions, however, it is plain from the universal clamour which his appointment created, that he could have found but few persons to second his views.

The great and growing depreciation of the paper currency of the United States, began now to be most seriously felt. The Congress were unable to procure the most necessary articles for the army without an advance of from a *thousand* to *eighteen hundred per cent.* on the nominal amount of their bills ; and so low was the publick credit, that no purchases could be made without the cash advance. In this situation they instructed their Commissioners at the foreign courts to endeavour to obtain a loan of two millions sterling, on the pledge of the “faith of the thirteen United States ;” and were compelled in the mean time to recommend to the Legislatures of the several States the enactment of laws authorising the *seizure* of goods which they were unable to purchase on the terms demanded by the holders. This was a high handed measure, but perhaps the only remedy for the desperate circumstances of the country.

On the 15th of November Congress adopted the Articles of Confederation which had been reported on the 12th of July, 1776, as follows :

Articles of confederation and perpetual union, between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusett’s Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

"Article 1. The style of this confederacy shall be "*The United States of America.*"

Article 2. Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation *expressly* delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

Article 3. The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defence, the security of their liberties and their mutual and general welfare : binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

Article 4. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this union, the free inhabitants of each of these States (paupers, vagabonds and fugitives from justice excepted) shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States, and the people of each state shall have free ingress and egress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State to any other State, of which the owner is an inhabitant : provided also, that no imposition, duties or restriction shall be laid by any state on the property of the United States or either of them.

If any person guilty of or charged with treason, felony or other high misdemeanour in any State, shall

flee from justice and be found in any of the United States, he shall upon demand of the Governour or executive power of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offence.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

Article 5. For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the Legislature of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November in every year, with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead, for the remainder of the year.

No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person being a delegate be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he or any other for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emolument of any kind.

Each State shall maintain its own delegates in any meeting of the States, and while they act as members of the Committees of the States.

In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote.

Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress; and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and impris-

sonments during the time of their going to and from and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

Article 6. No State, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance or treaty with any King, Prince, or State; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince or foreign state; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

No State shall lay any imports or duties, which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States in Congress assembled, with any king, prince or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled, for the defence of such State or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any state, in time of peace, except such number only as, in the judgment of the United States in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts

necessary for the defence of such State; but every State shall always keep up a well regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutered, and shall provide and have constantly ready for use, in publick stores, a due number of field pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition and camp equipage.

No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State shall be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted: nor shall any state grant commissions to any ships or vessel of war, nor letters of marque and reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, until such state be invested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled, shall determine otherwise.

Article 7. When land forces are raised by any State for the common defence, all officers of, or under the rank of Colonel shall be appointed by the legislature of each State respectively, by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such State shall direct; and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

Article 8. All charges of war and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land, and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled, shall from time to time direct and appoint.

The taxes for paying that proportion, shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several States within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

Article 9. The United States shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article—of sending and receiving ambassadors—entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever—of establishing rules for deciding in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States, shall be divided or appropriated—of granting letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace—appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas; and establishing courts for receiving and determining

finally, appeals in all cases of captures, provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed judge of any of the said courts.

The United States in Congress assembled, shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise between two or more states concerning boundary jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following: whenever the legislative or executive authority, or lawful agent of any state in controversy with another, shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each State of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct, shall in the presence of Congress be drawn out by lot; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges, who shall hear the cause, shall agree in the determination; and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without show-

ing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present, shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each state, and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court to be appointed, in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive: the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned; provided that every commissioner before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the state, where the cause shall be tried, "Well and truly to determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favour, affection, or hope of reward;" provided also, that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States whose jurisdictions as they may respect such lands, and the States which passed such grants, and adjusted the said grants, or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined as near as may be in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding

disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different States.

The United States in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States—fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States—regulating the trade, and managing all affairs with the Indians not members of any of the states; provided that the legislative right of any State within its own limits be not infringed or violated—establishing and regulating post-offices from one State to another throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expences of the said office—appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers—appointing all the officers, and commissioning all officers whatever, in the service of the United States—making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States in Congress assembled, shall have authority to appoint a committee to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated "*a committee of the States,*" and to consist of one delegate from each state, and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction to appoint one of their number to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of President more than one year in any term of three years—to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to

appropriate and apply the same for defraying the publick expences—to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted—to build and equip a navy—to agree upon the number of land forces—and to make requisitions from each state for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State; which requisitions shall be binding, and thereupon the legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, and clothe, arm and equip them in a soldier-like manner, at the expence of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled; but if the United States in Congress assembled, shall on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other State should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed and equipped in the same manner as the quota of such state, unless the legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spared out of the same, in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared. And the officers and men so clothed, armed and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

The United States in Congress assembled, shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque

and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defence and welfare of the United States or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a Commander in Chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same; nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State on any question, shall be entered on the journal, when it is desired by any delegate, and the delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the Legislatures of the several States.

Article 10. The committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorised to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States, in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine States, shall from time to time think

expedient to vest them with : provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the articles of confederation, the voice of nine States in the Congress of the United States assembled, is requisite.

Article 11. Canada acceding to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of this union; but no other Colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

Article 12. All bills of credit emitted, monies borrowed, and debts contracted by or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the United States and the publick faith, are hereby solemnly pledged.

Article 13. Every State shall abide by the determination of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which by this confederation are submitted to them. And the articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the Legislature of every State."

CHAPTER VI.

Events of 1777 continued—March of Burgoyne's troops—His reception by General Schuyler.—Conduct of his troops on the march.—Their reception at Cambridge.—General Burgoyne complains that the publick faith is broken.—Congress resolve to delay the embarkation of the troops.—Correspondence between Washington and Howe on the subject of prisoners.—Report of the Board of War thereon.—Conduct of a party of the enemy under Captain Emmerick.—Contemplated expedition of General Spencer against Newport.—Savage inroads on the western frontiers.—Proceedings of Congress—General Lincoln sends an expedition against Lake George and Ticonderoga.—Surprise of General St. Clair—Extra pay given to Washington's army.

THE delicacy which General Gates evinced towards the unfortunate British commander, at the convention of Saratoga, was such as to lighten the sense of degradation which such a reverse of fortune was well calculated to inspire in a proud and haughty foe, and such as to do honour to the feelings of an American victor. So scrupulous was General Gates to exact nothing which should unnecessarily wound the military pride of his adversary, that he would not permit his troops to witness the novel and humiliating ceremony which the terms of the convention imposed upon the captured army, of piling their arms: nor did he suffer them to enter their forsaken entrenchments, until the disarmed prisoners were no longer in sight to witness the triumph. Thousands of Americans lined the hills as the British troops crossed the river, but to their immortal honour, not a man seemed by look or gesture to insult their fallen state.

General Burgoyne himself, on the day the convention was signed, was introduced to his conquerour. "The fortune of war, General Gates, (said he) has made me your prisoner." General Gates, with a politeness intended at once to place his prisoner at ease with himself, replied, "I shall always be ready to bear testimony that *it has not been through any fault of your Excellency.*" The generals dined and spent the day together in all the familiarity of equal and long acquaintance. In a day or two after this, Burgoyne with several of his Generals visited Albany, where they were received by General *Schuyler*, whose elegant house the former had reduced to ashes. Struck with the kindness of his reception, and perhaps a little ashamed of the devastations he had committed or authorised, Burgoyne said to him, "You show me great kindness, although I have done you much injury"—"That was the fate of war," said this American, "*let us say no more about it.*" These little anecdotes are worth volumes of eulogy on the American character. They speak the simple truth, and speak to the hearts of their enemies.

How different from this was the spirit which actuated the British soldiers. Their march from the Hudson to Cambridge was marked by insolence and pillage; the return which they made for the civil, humane and delicate deportment of the inhabitants, was insult and robbery. The Germans, particularly, plundered every house they passed of every thing that could be conveniently taken with them.

The spectacle of five thousand British troops, marching as prisoners of war, under the guidance of two or three American officers, through a tract of country three hundred miles in extent, was novel and interest-

ing; nor was it without its attendant advantages to the American cause. The militia no longer believed their enemy invincible; and this enemy was made to feel, even while they refused to acknowledge, that those against whom they had to contend were not a despicable rabble. The conduct of the British troops too on their march, served to confirm the wavering in their fidelity to the cause of independence; they contrasted the conduct of the conquerors and conquered, and drew an appalling inference of what their fate would be in the latter predicament. When arrived at Cambridge, so near to the scene of their earliest cruelties and devastations, these prisoners began to experience a change in their treatment. This town was inhabited by many who had lost their all in the conflagration of Charlestown; they were still smarting with the sense of their wrongs, still suffering under the privations which Burgoyne himself had so largely contributed to bring upon them. With their wounds still bleeding, the flames of their houses still blazing in their mental vision, it was not possible for them, suddenly to bury their animosities, and load their captive enemies with kindness. The consequence was, that Burgoyne and his generals could scarcely obtain admittance into any of their houses. The troops had been lodged in the barracks near the town, and the officers quartered wherever accommodations could be procured for them. They soon became discontented with their situations, and drew up a formal remonstrance to their general, upon which a complaint was founded, that they were not treated according to the terms of the convention. That the officers were not all lodged, agreeably to their respective rank, is true; but their accommodations were the best which the

place afforded, and better than victorious troops are sometimes compelled to put up with.

The complaint made by Burgoyne, which was soon followed by a request that the place agreed upon for the embarkation of his troops should be changed from Boston to Rhode Island or New York, (both of which places were in possession of the British) induced a suspicion, that it was not his design to comply with the terms of the convention; and Congress made it a pretext for detaining them altogether. This was doing injustice to the good faith of the British commander. He was certainly bound to attend to the remonstrance of his officers, and to lay it before General Gates; and his desire to embark at Rhode Island or at New York rather than at Boston, arose from the circumstance of the transports having actually arrived at the former place, from which to Boston the passage at such a season was difficult and hazardous. These circumstances, however, were unfortunately overlooked by Congress. They had erroneously and hastily admitted the suspicion that Burgoyne did not mean to act honestly, and they were determined to find sufficient pleas for their own violation of the convention. They accused him of withholding his standards, and military chests, of permitting the destruction of his ammunition, muskets and accoutrements; and notwithstanding the explicit declaration of General Gates that nothing was done to justify the charge of a violation of the convention, in the surrender, they persisted in declaring their security in the *personal honour* of Burgoyne to be destroyed, and therefore suspending the embarkation of his troops, until the convention should be ratified by his Court.

General Burgoyne in his letter to General Gates, complaining of the unsuitable accommodations provided for his officers, had unfortunately added these words: "the publick faith is broken." This it was, that gave the alarm to Congress. They knew, that the British Generals had more than once asserted, that *no faith ought to be kept with rebels*, and they were fearful that this previous intimation on the part of Burgoyne, would be made a pretext for his joining some of the British garrisons in America, instead of going to England with his troops, if permitted to embark. It was in vain that General Burgoyne explained the meaning of this objectionable passage of his letter: it was in vain he offered for himself and all his officers to sign any obligation which might be dictated to him, to abide by the terms of the convention. Congress were inflexible in their determination to detain the troops until the Court of Great Britain should ratify the convention. They alleged in justification of their conduct, that a compact broken in one article was no longer binding in any; and that they had a right by the laws of nations to suspend the execution, where they had reason to suspect an intention to violate it. These might be legal excuses, but we dare not approve them as honourable to Congress. They are justly chargeable with bad faith towards Burgoyne in the first instance: the subsequent long detention of his army must be chargeable to his own Government; for had they been disposed to treat their fallen general with the respect due to his valour, or the delicacy due to his misfortunes, the convention might have been fulfilled in all its parts in the course of a few weeks; whereas, as we shall hereafter see, his troops remained prisoners for more than twelve months.

The treatment of prisoners of war is generally, in all wars, and among all nations, a subject of much discussion and of mutual complaint and recrimination. Nothing like a regular and satisfactory cartel for the exchange of prisoners had yet been established between the two adverse Commanders in Chief; and letters were continually passing from one to the other on the subject of their treatment. In some of these Sir William Howe accused Washington of unjustifiably loading the royal prisoners with irons, a charge without the least shadow of foundation, and to which the indignant chief thus replied, in a letter of the 14th of November.—“If there is a single instance of a prisoner of war being in irons, I am ignorant of it; nor can I find, on the most minute inquiry, that there is the least foundation for the charge. I wish you to particularize the cases you allude to, that relief may be had, if the complaints are well founded.—Now we are upon the subject of grievances, I am constrained to observe that I have a variety of accounts, not only from prisoners who have made their escape, but from persons who have left Philadelphia, that our private soldiers in your hands, are treated in a manner shocking to humanity; and that many of them must have perished through hunger, had it not been for the charitable contributions of the inhabitants. It is added in aggravation, that this treatment is to *oblige them to enlist* in the corps you are raising. I must also remonstrate against the cruel treatment and confinement of our officers. This I am informed is not only the case of those in Philadelphia, but of many in New York. Many of the cruelties exercised towards the prisoners are said to proceed from the inhumanity of Mr. Cunningham, Provost Marshall, without your

knowledge or approbation. I transmit the depositions of two persons of reputation who are come from Philadelphia, respecting the treatment they received. I will not comment on the subject: it is too painful."

In reply to Washington's wish to have the cases particularized, in which the royal prisoners had been ironed, Sir William mentioned Major Stockdon of the New Jersey Volunteers, and a Captain of the same regiment, who had been captured at Princeton, and *hand cuffed*. Washington admitted that this was true, but declared that it was without his privity or consent, and that relief had been ordered as soon as he was apprised of it: "But surely this event, (said he,) which happened so long ago, will not authorise the charges in your letter of the 6th."

The American officers, prisoners at New York, had been at first quartered upon the inhabitants on Long Island; and upon the promise of the Commissary General of Prisoners, to pay two dollars a week for their board, had lived in tolerable comfort. But upon the failure of the Commissary's resources, they had been removed on board the prison ships, where in common with the privates, they suffered every species of privation, for a period of several months, until on the 10th of December they were again removed to Long Island, upon the engagement of Mr. Lewis Pintard, agent of the Commissary General, to pay for them at the rate of two *silver* dollars per week. In his letter to Mr. Boudinot, the Commissary, he observed that the convalescents had nothing but salt meat given to them on leaving the hospitals, that the consequence was they relapsed almost immediately, and were dying very fast. Mr. Boudinot was called before the board of war on the 21st December, and from the evi-

dences produced by him, it appeared that there were 900 privates and 300 officers prisoners in New York, and about 500 privates and 50 officers in Philadelphia—"That the privates in New York have been crowded all summer in *sugar houses*, and the officers boarded on Long Island, except about 30, who have been confined in the *provost guard*, and in the most loathsome jails. That since the beginning of October, all these prisoners, both officers and privates, have been confined in prison ships, or the provost.—That the privates in Philadelphia have been kept in two *publick jails*, and the officers in the state house. That from the best evidence which the nature of the subject will admit of, the general allowance to prisoners, at most, does not exceed *four ounces of meat*, and as much bread per day, (*often so much damaged as not to be eatable,*) and often much less, though the professed allowance is from eight to ten ounces. That it has been a common practice with the enemy, on a prisoner's being first captured, to keep him three, four, or even *five days*, without a morsel of provisions of any kind, and then to tempt him to enlist, to save his life. That there are numerous instances of prisoners of war perishing in all the agonies of hunger, from their severe treatment. That being generally stripped of what clothes they have when taken, they have suffered greatly for the want thereof during their confinement."

Such was the report of five of our most respectable officers, founded upon the best evidence of which the nature of the subject would admit. What American is there who can hear these sufferings of our Revolutionary soldiers recited, and not feel his resolution new strengthened to cherish the independence pur-

chased at such a price? We desire not to rekindle the extinguished flame of hatred, or open anew the cicatrised wounds of either country. Would to Heaven rather, we could bury these scenes in eternal oblivion; but the exactions of duty forbid us to suppress the record, and truth compels us, while we make it, to cry shame upon the British name. The Congress had some reason to fear that British Generals would hold no faith with *rebels*, when such was the treatment dealt out to those whom the fortune of war placed in their power.—But the treatment which the friends of liberty and the heroes of our independence suffered from the *European* royalists, was mildness, compared to that which they often experienced at the hands of their own countrymen who had adhered to the cause of British tyranny.

A short time after the return of the devastating expedition of Sir Henry Clinton up the Hudson, during which his officers boasted that they had not left a house standing on its banks, General Tryon, the former Governour of New York, sent a Captain Emmerick, with a hundred men, on a similar expedition to Philip's Manor, within a few miles of General Parsons' guards. After burning several houses, they seized upon the women and children, stripped off their clothing and turned them naked into the streets, in the cold weather of the 18th of November—the men were stripped to their shirts and breeches, *haltered*, and thus led in triumph to the British lines!—General Parsons, whose soul revolted at such acts of wanton barbarity, though it was in his power to have retaliated upon several *tory* families in the vicinity of his guard, contented himself with writing a calm, expostulatory letter to General Tryon, in which he painted the

unprovoked cruelty of his conduct. To this letter Tryon replied in the following savage terms : " Sir, could I possibly conceive myself accountable to any *revolted subjects* of the king of Great Britain, I might answer your letter of yesterday, respecting the conduct of Captain Emmerick's party, upon the taking of Peter and Cornelius Vantassel. As much as I abhor every principle of inhumanity or ungenerous conduct, I should, were I in *more authority*, *burn every committee man's house* within my reach, as I deem them the wicked instruments of the continued calamities of this country ; and in order the sooner to purge the *colony* of them, *I am willing to give twenty silver dollars for every acting committee man who shall be delivered up to the king's troops.*"

Was it wonderful that General Parsons, after the receipt of such a letter, should indulge a momentary feeling of resentment, and endeavour to retort upon the *tories* this treatment of republicans ? A small party were sent in the evening to Greenwich, to the house of Mr. Oliver Delancy. They advanced unperceived, secured the centinel, burnt the house and brought off a few prisoners. There were females here too ; but these were tenderly treated, and dismissed without insult. The flames of the house occasioned an alarm at New-York, but the little party recrossed the river, and returned in safety.

Before we close this chapter it will be proper to mention a few minor incidents which, it would have interrupted the general narrative, to have related in their proper chronological order.

It will be recollected that Forts Montgomery and Clinton, on the North River, the two most important

posts in that extensive and valuable section of the country, were found by Sir Henry Clinton, garrisoned by no more than about 600 men. The militia of Connecticut had been destined by Washington to this service, but had been diverted from that object by the authorities of Rhode Island, who had without Washington's consent or privity, planned a secret expedition against Newport, the conduct of which was entrusted to General Spencer, who was stationed at Providence. The militia of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut eagerly engaged in the expedition, and preparations were actively entered upon for the attack. For some time these preparations were concealed from the knowledge of the enemy, and every thing promised success. Information, however, was at length conveyed to them, which put them on their guard. Brigadier General Palmer, of the Massachusetts militia, who was to have led the advance, disobeyed the orders given to him, and occasioned a failure of the whole plan, which had been well devised, and with Spencer himself at the head, would have ensured success. Militia are not generally willing to make a second attempt, where the first has failed: notwithstanding this disaster, Spencer would still have gone on, though the enemy were watching his approach, but that the other officers refused their cooperation.

While the two grand armies of the United States were occupied in defending the northern and atlantick frontiers, the peaceable inhabitants of the western frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, were suffering from the daily inroads of the merciless savages. Helpless women and children were cruelly murdered, or driven from their homes to suffer worse than

death. A committee of Congress, appointed to inquire into the circumstances of these sufferings, reported on the 20th November, that "from a number of papers styled *proclamations*, under the hand and seal of Henry Hamilton, Lieutenant Governour of Fort Detroit, as well as from other information and circumstances, it appears, that these savages have been *instigated by British agents and emissaries*, and particularly by the said Henry Hamilton to this barbarous and murderous war." In justice to the *British nation*, let it be said, that the *government* and not the *people*, sanctioned and authorised these enormities.

In order to correct the injurious rumours, that were carefully propagated by the British for obvious reasons, in those countries of Europe to which the United States sent agents, that a treaty had been formed between Congress and the British commissioners, and that the colonies would be again reconciled to the mother country; Congress about this time sent instructions to their commissioners at the several foreign courts to contradict the report; and to represent to them, that no proposals for a treaty between the king of Great Britain, or any of his commissioners, and the United States of America, would be received, unless it acknowledged the independence of the states, and was in every thing consistent with the treaties or alliances then under negotiation.

The continued depreciation of the bills of credit and the paper currency of the United States, had enhanced the nominal price of labour and of every commodity of traffick, to so enormous an amount, that Congress were continually devising new schemes to overcome the difficulties, each of which in its turn

led them into new embarrassments. In proportion as the paper dollars sunk in *value*, Congress by new emissions increased them in *quantity*, and thus continually increased the evils of a system at first erroneous and inadequate. By fixing a *maximum* to prices, Congress could obtain nothing but by resorting to the unpleasant necessity of *seizing* all that they wanted, for the holders of commodities in constant demand, would not consent to lose the opportunity of making large profits, and would therefore not sell at a fixed price. The odious expedient of *confiscation* was at length resorted to as a means of supplying the want of money. This, however, was a power which Congress did not choose to exercise on their own responsibility. They therefore passed the following resolution on the subject: "Resolved, that it be earnestly *recommended* to the several states, as soon as may be, to confiscate and make sale of all the real and personal estates therein of such of their inhabitants, and other persons who have forfeited the same, and the right to the protection of their respective states; and to invest the money arising from the sales in continental loan office certificates, *to be appropriated in such manner as the respective states shall hereafter direct.*" Some benefit might have been expected to result from this resolution, if Congress had required that the money should be paid into the continental treasury, but by giving to each state the right of *appropriating* the amount of its own sales, they removed none of the evils under which the country laboured, and opened a door for individual fraud and speculation, the consequences of which continue to be felt at the present day.

The reader will recollect the spirited enterprise by which General Prescott fell into the hands of a small party under Lieutenant Colonel Barton of the Rhode Island militia; and for which it was deemed a sufficient reward to present him a sword. This spirited officer, however, was not content to wear a sword, which he had not the liberty of using under the authority of Congress. He requested to be employed in their service; and on the 24th December, they resolved to promote him to the rank and pay of a Colonel in the service of the United States, and "that he be recommended to General Washington, to be employed in such services as he may deem most adapted to his genius."

A few days previous to the first battle of Gates and Burgoyne, General Lincoln who had been placed by Washington in command of the eastern militia, planned an expedition against Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. Fearful if he attempted to convey information of his design to General Gates, that the enemy might become apprized of it, and thus frustrate his plans, he took upon himself the responsibility of undertaking it without the knowledge of General Gates, and was completely successful. On the 13th September he detached Colonels Brown and Johnson, at the head of 500 men each, the former to Lake George, and the latter to Mount Independence; and with a further view to distract the attention of the enemy, a like number of men under Colonel Woodbridge were sent to Skeensborough and the other posts in the neighbourhood in possession of the enemy. Colonel Brown executed his orders with such skill and dexterity, that he surprised all the enemy's outposts between Lakes George and Ticon-

deroga, and on the 18th gained possession of the French blockhouses on Mounts Hope and Defiance, and entered the works of Ticonderoga with but little loss. An armed sloop, several gunboats, 200 batteaux, and nearly 300 prisoners fell into his hands ; besides which, 100 American prisoners, confined at Lake George, were released. The American standard also, which had been left at Ticonderoga, when that fortress was evacuated, was recovered. Colonels Brown and Johnson after retaining possession of the two forts for three or four days, abandoned them, and returned to their commander.—The enemy immediately reentered them ; but evacuated them a month afterwards, on the surrender of Burgoyne's army.

The mention of Ticonderoga will bring to the recollection of the reader, the circumstances attending its evacuation by Major General St. Clair, in the month of July. That unfortunate and aspersed officer, though soon after ordered to attend Congress to undergo an investigation of his conduct, was still held in a state of distressing suspense, as will appear by the following extract of his letter to General Gates of the 21st November.—“ My affair is still in the same situation as when I last wrote you. I am firmly persuaded it is the intention of Congress, *to avoid bringing it to a trial* as long as possible, in hopes that the matter will die away of itself and be forgotten ; *that, however, is not my intention.* I have been pretty constant in my applications for justice to myself, and to my country, and shall continue them until I prevail, or *they throw off the mask.*” After some severe remarks upon the cabals that distracted the councils of the country, justified perhaps by his peculiar situation, he adds—

“This moment I have a letter from the President, covering the following very extraordinary resolve : ‘Whereas the committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the loss of Ticonderoga and Fort Independence, have not yet been able to collect materials, and make their report, resolved, that Major General St. Clair be at liberty to attend to his private affairs, until he shall have notice to attend headquarters, in order to an inquiry into his conduct.’—”

This was indeed what General St. Clair indignantly denominated it, an extraordinary resolve, and sufficiently justified the following comments, with which he concluded his letter to General Gates. “Judge now, Sir, what I ought to think of them, for I made no such application as this would indicate ; or whether the suspicion I threw out above is not but too well founded. If they had candour or common honesty, they would have owned, that after five months spent in searching for an accusation, they had been unable to find one—one at least which they dared to own ; and instead of commanding me to retire from the army, *which is the English of the resolve*, with all the ignominy upon my head which they had unjustly endeavoured to fix there, could have acknowledged their errors, and done what was in their power to remove it ; but many of them are incapable of a generous sentiment or action in private life ; and a publick station, by making men more acquainted with the vices and frailties of others, confirms and increases their own. *A trial however they shall give me ;* be the event what it will, they cannot rob me of that heartfelt satisfaction, which is the companion and reward of virtuous actions.”

On the last day of the year, Congress resolved to give to the officers and soldiers in the immediate army of the Commander in Chief, one month's *extra* pay, as a reward for the patience, fidelity and zeal, with which they had borne the dangers, fatigues and sufferings of their peculiar situation; and certainly no army ever suffered more, or were, under such circumstances, more faithful to their Commander in Chief.

Thus closed the second year of our independence. We shall see in the next chapter some of the important consequences which flowed from the several campaigns of the two grand armies.

CHAPTER VII.

Events of 1778.—Proceedings of the British Parliament.—Lord North's second conciliatory scheme.—Duke of Richmond proposes to acknowledge the independence of America.—Last public appearance of Lord Chatham.—Disgrace of Burgoyne.—Situation of the American army at Valley Forge.—Commissary General appointed.—Baron Steuben appointed Inspector General.—Inactivity of Sir William Howe at Philadelphia.—Conduct of Congress on receiving Lord North's Bills.—Arrival of Mr. Simeon Deane with copies of the treaties with France.—Proceedings of Congress thereon.—Sir Henry Clinton arrives, and supersedes Sir William Howe.—Arrival of the Commissioners, Lord Carlisle, Mr. Eden and Mr. Johnston.—Their unsuccessful negotiation and outrageous conduct.—Sir Henry evacuates Philadelphia.—Is pursued by Washington.—Battle in New Jersey.—Arrest and trial of Lee.—Congress return to Philadelphia.—Lieutenant Brown shot by a centinel at Cambridge.—Arrival of Count D'Estaing with a French fleet.—Pursues Lord Howe to New-York, and blockades him there.—Sails to Rhode Island to assist in the expedition of General Sullivan.—British and French fleets prevented from engaging by a storm.—Retreat of General Sullivan.—Count D'Estaing sails for Boston.—Mysterious affair of Captain Folger.—Mr. Deane.—Beaumarchais.—Loss of the Frigate Randolph.—Bloody massacre at Wyoming.—Colonel Clarke's expedition to the Mississippi.

IN order to show more fully the effects produced by the campaign of 1777, and particularly by the unexpected disasters of General Burgoyne on the banks of the Hudson, it will be necessary to attend to the proceedings of the British parliament, at their meeting, after a short recess, in January 1778. It will be seen that the unfortunate General Burgoyne, on his return to England, was refused the miserable

consolation of throwing himself at his Majesty's feet, and that after having encountered dangers and difficulties sufficient to have appalled a man less devoted to the cause of his king and country, he was compelled to hide his head in disgrace, and add another to the thousand monuments of ministerial ingratitude.

In a few days after the meeting in January, Mr. Fox in a committee of the whole house, moved for an address to his Majesty, beseeching him not to send any more troops from England, Ireland, Gibraltar or Minorca, to America—Mr. Fox declared that his motive was grounded upon a retrospective view of the disasters which had occurred in America, where the losses and disgraces of the army had been so great as to endanger the safety of the kingdom; the army for the defence of which had been so reduced by the continual reinforcements sent to America, that the kingdom now laid at the mercy of the House of Bourbon; that necessity if not choice would compel the ministers to abandon their plan of conquest, which had as yet been attended with nothing but calamity.

Not a word was said by the Ministers or their friends in reply to Mr. Fox—the question on his motion was silently put and negatived—but the large majority clearly showed that the Minister was losing ground in the house.

Mr. Burke afterwards moved for the papers relative to the employment of the *Indians*; and took occasion with his usual energy of style and manner to enlarge upon the horrid murder of Miss M'Crea, before related. But his motion was also rejected by a large majority; and a few days afterwards, Lord

North, to the utter astonishment of all who heard him, gave notice that he had another *plan of conciliation* to offer.

The annals of the whole world do not present a system of such incorrigible absurdities, as that pursued by Lord North, in relation to America. No want of success, no calamities, no experience, could teach him wisdom. The disgraceful evacuation of Boston by Sir William Howe, the unsuccessful attempt of Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Peter Parker, upon Charleston, the defeat and surrender of ten thousand troops under General Burgoyne at Saratoga, the ridiculous issue of the ridiculous negotiation entrusted to Lord Howe and his brother at New York, the knowledge which he had of the conclusion of a Treaty between *France* and the *United States*, were all insufficient to awaken Lord North to a sense of his ignorance and incompetence. The same means which had proved ineffectual at the very birth of our independence, were resorted to, now that that independence was confirmed and strengthened by the acknowledgment and alliance of a foreign power. Lord North's plan of conciliation would hardly have succeeded even before the glorious era of 1776 ; he must have known therefore, that there was not the remotest prospect of its success on the 17th of February 1778, when he proposed it. A " Bill for removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain in any of the *Colonies and Plantations* in North America," and " a Bill to enable his Majesty to appoint Commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and argue upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the *Colonies* in America," formed the present *conciliatory* scheme of this

blind and obstinate Minister. He confessed that he meant to give up the notion of *taxing* America, and that the Commissioners should be authorised to treat with Congress *as with a legal body*, and further that he did not mean to insist on a *preliminary renunciation* of independence as a *sine qua non* of that treaty. What could have been his Lordship's views, it is utterly impossible to comprehend. He meant to do every thing *but acknowledge* the independence of America, and that independence he did not require of them to renounce, *for the present*. It would be difficult indeed to conceive, what advantages his Lordship expected to flow from a measure so ridiculously absurd. He saw, but was afraid to acknowledge it even to himself, that it was impossible to *force* America to recede from the stand she had taken, or he would not have consented to treat with Congress *as if it were a legal body*. He must have seen the impracticability of *compelling* her to renounce her independence, or he would have insisted upon the renunciation, as a *preliminary* step to the *treaty* which he talked about entering into. And what must have been the kind of *treaty* which his Lordship expected to form with *rebellious subjects*, to whom he was holding out the promise of *pardon*? If they had rejected with indignation, and even with contempt, the offer of pardon which had been made to them while they were actually rebellious *subjects*, what benefit did he expect from its repetition, now that they no longer acknowledged themselves the subjects of his Britannick Majesty? But it would be useless to attempt to fathom his Lordship's views. In the language of Mr. Fox, "his arguments might be collected into one point, his excuses comprised in one apology, in one single

word—*ignorance*, a palpable and total ignorance of every part of the subject. He hoped, and he was disappointed—he expected a great deal, and found little to answer his expectations—he thought America would have submitted to his laws, and she had resisted them—he thought she would have submitted to his armies, and she had defeated them—he made conciliatory propositions, and he thought they would succeed, but they were rejected—he appointed Commissioners to make peace, and *he thought they had powers*; but he found that they could not make peace, and that they had no powers.”

This was indeed precisely the situation of his Lordship. He had brought himself into a labyrinth of difficulties, from which he had no clue to extricate him. He had depended upon his own sagacity, and had found it incompetent to his support; he had thought himself wiser than his predecessors, and found himself only more obstinate. But unfortunately for his Lordship's reputation as a Statesman, he had still too much influence in the Parliament, to permit him to see the degradation to which he was hurrying himself and his country. His Conciliatory Bills were passed, and Lord *Carlisle*, Mr. *Eden*, and Mr. *Johnstone*, were appointed the Commissioners. We shall soon see with what effect their mission to America was attended.

During the present session of the British Parliament, the Earl of Chatham, for the last time, made his appearance in the House of Peers.—Having been apprized that the subject of American affairs, in which he had never ceased to feel the most lively interest, would occupy the attention of the Grand Committee of Inquiry, on the 7th of April, his Lordship, bowed

down as he was with the weight of years, and still more enfeebled by disease, entered the House, supported by his son, and Lord Viscount Mahon. We shall be excused by our American readers, for dwelling a few moments, upon this last exhibition of one of the best and greatest men that ever appeared in the councils of any nation, when they remember, that the Earl of Chatham devoted the best years of his life, the most vigorous efforts of his towering genius, to the defence of the rights and privileges of America, and to the promotion of her prosperity and happiness. And, that though he may appear in this closing scene of his life, to have receded from the noble stand which he had always made against every attempt to fetter the freedom of America, it was *not that he loved America less, but England more*. The alliance of France, it cannot be doubted, had a powerful influence in determining his Lordship to oppose the recognition of American independence. Had America still been struggling single handed, against her mercenary foes, Lord Chatham would have died breathing a prayer for her success : but the acknowledgment of her independence now, would carry with it the appearance of concession to the *House of Bourbon* ; and his Lordship was too much an *Englishman* to forget his hatred to France.

At his Lordship's entrance into the House, every Nobleman arose, as if with one impulse, to show their veneration and respect for his character. His pale and emaciated countenance, his enfeebled limbs wrapped in flannel, formed a melancholy contrast to the fire which still lighted his eye, and which this day's exertions were doomed to quench forever. As soon as the House were recovered from the emotions which

his entrance had excited, the Duke of Richmond rose to move an address to the King *on the state of the nation*. In the course of his Grace's speech, he distinctly avowed his belief, that the independence of America was already established, and that an *immediate acknowledgment* of it would be the wisest course that could be pursued. Lord Chatham rose to reply to his Grace, and the attention of the House was rivetted upon his tottering frame. He lamented that his infirmities had kept him so long from Parliament, and declared that his present effort was *almost beyond the powers of his constitution*—that it was probably the *last time* he should ever be able to enter the House: but, said he, “My Lords, I rejoice that the grave has not yet closed upon me—that I am still alive to lift up my voice against an acknowledgment of the *sovereignty* of America, against the dismemberment of this ancient and noble monarchy. Pressed down as I am by the load of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture: but, my Lords, while I have sense and memory, I never will consent to tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions. Shall a people so lately the terror of the world, now fall prostrate before *the House of Bourbon*? It is impossible. I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom, but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not.—Any state, my Lords, is better than despair. Let us at least make an effort—and, if we must fall, let us fall like men.”

The Duke of Richmond got up to reply, and with the most profound respect of language and manner, urged his Lordship to point out *the means* by which

America could be made to renounce her independence—adding with perfect sincerity that “if his Lordship could not do it, no man could.”—When his Grace concluded, Lord Chatham, his whole frame appearing to be struggling with some powerful emotion, attempted to rise—but the effort failed: he sunk, convulsed, into the arms that were held out to support him. The debate was immediately adjourned, and medical assistance sent for to his Lordship: but the minister of immortality had called—his Lordship revived but to linger a few short weeks, and died on the 11th of May, in the 70th year of his age.

Lord North had, early in March, officially communicated to Parliament, that a Treaty of amity, commerce and alliance had been concluded between France and the United States; and on the 20th of that month his Excellency the French Ambassador quitted London in pursuance of orders.

General Burgoyne, on his arrival in England shortly afterwards, finding that his Majesty would not deign to receive him, took his seat in the House of Commons; and there endeavoured to enlist a party in his favour by abusing the measures of the Ministry—but his sun was set; his voice was no longer listened to. He had sunk into contempt with all parties. Let us now return to the United States.

The new year found the American army at Valley Forge in a condition of extreme distress. They were suffering every privation and hardship, which a want of provisions and a want of clothing could bring upon them. So destitute, indeed, were they of every necessary, that Washington found himself obliged to wink at acts of depredation and plunder, which would otherwise have incurred his severest reprehension and

punishment. That he should have been enabled to keep his army together, under such circumstances, is the highest eulogium which can be paid to his character. Nor do the soldiers themselves deserve less praise, for the unparalleled fortitude and patience, with which they endured the severities of winter, without shoes and blankets, and the fatigues and hardships of continued marching, without food. Was this the effect of discipline, or was it patriotism? To say that it was the latter, would be perhaps to decide against the testimony of all history, which furnishes no example of patience under such accumulated sufferings, which could be traced to the influence of patriotism alone. But if discipline could effect it, why are such instances so rare? Love and respect for their Chief, had no doubt considerable influence on the conduct of the army; but we must suppose also that the enthusiasm, which first brought the American soldiery to the standard of their country, had not yet subsided; and that, however contrary it may appear to the history of the world, or to the nature of man, the great body of our Revolutionary soldiers felt the value of the prize for which they were contending, and acted under the impulse of patriotick feelings, which in their case was but little different from self love. The greater part of them had an interest at stake as great as that of the Congress itself; upon the fate of their country depended their own; those who thus felt imparted the same feeling to their comrades; and this, united to a strong personal regard for Washington, prevented the entire dissolution of the army during the unexampled miseries of the present winter.

Amidst all these causes of disquietude and chagrin, Washington found that his secret enemies were still

at work, to deprive him of the confidence of Congress, and remove him from the command of the army. To aid them in their dark and traitorous machinations, a report had been industriously spread, that he meant to *resign*. No positive proofs were ever brought to light of the authors of this plot; but circumstances were developed sufficiently strong to lead to the suspicion, that Lord Stirling, General Conway, and *Samuel Adams*, were principal actors in it, and that these were aided by several members of Congress. The design seems to have been to force Washington into a *resignation*, and to raise Gates, Lee, or Conway, to the head of the army. Whether General Gates was really ignorant of the machinations against the Commander in Chief, may be considered as doubtful; but nothing appears to justify a belief that he took an active part in them, or that he would have consented to raise himself upon the ruin of Washington. When the paragraph, said to have been taken from a letter of General Conway to General Gates, in which the inefficiency of the Commander in Chief was openly alleged, was communicated to Washington, the plain and obvious course for General Gates to have pursued, was to have laid the whole letter open to the inspection of Washington, and thus have removed all suspicion that he was in any degree a party to the assertion. But General Gates contented himself with denying, in terms rather more equivocal than conscious innocence would have dictated, that the letter contained the paragraph in question; and his conduct on the occasion towards Brigadier General *Wilkinson*, who had been falsely accused by Lord Stirling of having communicated the paragraph, was certainly not the conduct of one wholly innocent of ambitious designs.

But the plot, whatever might have been its design, or whoever might have been its contrivers and abettors, fortunately for the country, did not succeed. It served but to raise Washington still higher in the estimation of his country.

The situation of the American army was rendered still further distressing by the great number of sick, and the horrible mismanagement of the Hospital Department. The Director General, Doctor Shippen, was openly accused of the meanest peculation, in selling the wines and other stores provided for the sick, and of the most unpardonable neglect in never visiting the Hospitals. Doctor Rush, Physician General of the middle district, asserted that one half the soldiers who died, "*perished by the present medical establishment,*" and that he might not be considered as participating in the guilt of such neglect, he requested permission to resign his appointment. A committee was sometime afterwards appointed by Congress to inquire into the conduct of the Director General, but it was too late to remedy the evil. Thousands had already fallen a sacrifice to the inattention of the Hospital Department.

The Commissariat had been saddled with so many restrictions by Congress, that it became another source of inconvenience and trouble to the Commander in Chief; and that body were at length induced to do away all their former resolutions on the subject, and appoint a Commissary General with unlimited authority over his department.

Early in the year, Congress had determined upon the *invasion of Canada*, without a single requisite for so arduous an undertaking, in the depth of winter. The young Marquis de la Fayette was chosen to

command this expedition, with the Generals Conway and Starke, and the Baron de Kalb; but as might have been foreseen, the idea was abandoned almost as soon as formed, and it was followed by the resignation of General Conway as Inspector General. Washington had now an opportunity of recommending his friend the *Baron de Steuben* for that important office, which was soon after conferred upon him by Congress, with the rank of Major General. The great military talents of the Baron, were soon rendered conspicuous in the improved discipline of the men; and his cordial cooperation in all the views of Washington, rendered him eminently serviceable in effecting a radical and permanent reform in the army.

About the same time, the Count *Pulaski* was empowered to raise an independent legion; and the same power, with the rank of Major Commandant, was given to Captain Henry Lee of Virginia, whose gallant services with his brave troop of light dragoons have already been noticed.

General Gates, in the mean time, was ordered to take command of the troops in the northern department, and to make such a disposition of his means, as effectually to secure the passes of the highlands on the North River.

While these preparations were making by the Americans for a vigorous opening of the campaign, Sir William Howe was passing the winter in Philadelphia, as he had done that in Boston—in a full and licentious enjoyment of all its pleasures. His conduct here again gave rise to surmises and suspicions injurious to his reputation as a soldier, and as a man of honour. That he should have spent the winter in

worse than idleness, with his well appointed army, within a few miles of the naked, starving and sickly army of Washington at Valley Forge, was a subject well calculated to excite unfavourable inquiries. It was well known that Sir William was a man of chivalrick courage in the field, and we have already seen enough of his character to show, that his conduct could not have been influenced by any dishonourable partiality for his enemies—what then could have produced that disinclination to profit by the advantages which were so continually thrown in his way? This is a question which we cannot attempt to solve.

About the middle of April, copies of Lord North's *conciliatory bills* were received by the English Governour Tryon, at New-York. Whether they were sent to him by the Minister himself, with a view to their being privately circulated among the people, or whether they came to him from some other source, and this mode of trying their effect was the suggestion of his own folly, is not known. It is highly probable, however, that it made a part of Lord North's system. As soon as a copy of them came into the hands of Washington, he forwarded it to Congress at Yorktown; and that body very wisely determined to *publish* the whole as widely as possible, with such remarks as were calculated to counteract any injurious effect which it might have upon the ignorant. The knowledge of these measures on the part of the Ministry, excited even stronger resentment in the British army and refugees, than it did in the Americans themselves. The former had been looking for a promised *reinforcement* of 20,000 men, and to be amused with what they considered disgraceful proposi-

tions for a treaty, must necessarily have been a sore disappointment.

In a few days after Congress had taken the necessary precautions to guard against these insidious designs of the British Ministry, Mr. Simeon Deane arrived at Yorktown, with copies of the Treaties which had been signed at Paris with his most Christian Majesty Louis XVI. The treaty of Commerce had been signed on the 30th of January, and that of Alliance on the 6th of February. Mr. Deane was also the bearer of much other pleasing intelligence, and among other things of the preparations which the King of France was making to aid his new allies. This was a step which had been foreseen by every reflecting politician of Great Britain, from the moment that America was driven to resistance. The loss of the Colonies in America had never been forgotten by France, and it required no great sagacity to predict, that she would seize the earliest opportunity that presented itself of retaliating upon her ancient enemy.

The joy of Congress and of the people upon the receipt of these Treaties, was manifested by publick acclamation, by the firing of cannon, and by every species of extravagant demonstration. The Treaties were read by the Chaplains at the head of each brigade of the army, and loud huzzas testified the delight with which they were heard. One of the first steps of Congress, after the ratification of the Treaties, was the appointment of Commissioners, or Ambassadors, to the Courts of Spain, Tuscany, Vienna and Berlin; and as an evidence how much this new alliance had exalted them in their own eyes, these Commissioners were directed to live "*in a style and manner suitable to the dignity of their publick char-*

acter." These proceedings were followed by an "Address to the inhabitants of the United States of America," which, besides being published in all the *Gazettes*, was directed to be read *from the pulpit* by every minister of the Gospel in the country. This paper contained an eloquent appeal to the patriotism of the people, which they invoked by every tie of honour, justice and interest. And in the warmth of their feelings excited by this occasion, they passed a resolution granting half-pay to all officers who should serve during the war.

While these things were doing in Congress, Sir Henry Clinton arrived at Philadelphia, and superseded Sir William Howe in the command of the army, the latter having requested permission to return to England. Sir Henry Clinton had been added to the Commissioners before named in Lord North's Conciliatory Bills, and very soon after his arrival he was joined by the other three. An attempt was immediately made to open a negotiation with Congress, by means of their Secretary Dr. Ferguson, but General Washington refused him the requisite passport; and the Commissioners were compelled to adopt the ordinary means of correspondence. Their first letter to Congress was written in the most flattering terms of respect, and offered every concession short of an acknowledgment of independence. To this the President of Congress was directed to reply, politely but firmly, that the Commissioners were mistaken in supposing that they came to treat with *subjects* of his Britannick Majesty—and that however desirable it might be to the United States to conclude a Treaty of peace, the preliminary to any negotiation for that purpose must be an open and explicit recognition of their inde-

pendence. The Commissioners made an artful reply, in which they insinuated that they had already admitted a *degree of independence*, and were disposed to go further, if Congress would communicate to them the *powers* by which they were “authorised to treat with foreign nations.”

Here the correspondence with Congress ceased; and a scene of intrigue, fraud, bribery and corruption, commenced on the part of the Commissioners, as disgraceful and dishonourable to the English name, as it was fruitless in its result. Governour *Johnstone*, particularly distinguished himself, in the infamous game which was now attempted to be played off upon the American people. To one of the members of Congress he offered a direct *bribe* of ten thousand pounds sterling, if he would further the views of the Commissioners—the offer was made, through the medium of a Mrs. Ferguson, to Mr. Reed, the former Aid de Camp, and confidential friend of General Washington. The gallantry of Mr. Reed compelled him to make a reply *to the lady*; and he soon silenced all doubts that might have arisen on the adequacy of the *sum*, by stating that though he hardly considered himself as *worth purchasing*, yet “the King of Great Britain was *not rich enough* to do it.” Governour Johnstone next addressed himself successively to *Robert Morris* and *Francis Dana*; but finding that he had mistaken his men, he changed the tone of adulation with which he had commenced his operations, into one of *threatening* and scurrilous abuse.

One of the Commissioners had brought with him a *secret order* to General Clinton, to evacuate Philadelphia, and repair immediately to New York with his army. This order was supposed to be founded on

the presumption that the French squadron which it was known had already sailed from Toulon, was destined for the Delaware; and that the army might thus be entrapped. Sir Henry, however extraordinary he might have thought the order, at such a moment, hastened to prepare for its execution; and by the time the Commissioners had rendered themselves sufficiently odious, he was ready to move.

Washington, as soon as he became sensible of the enemy's intention of abandoning Philadelphia, called a council of the officers, to consider the expediency of inviting a general engagement, which as he could bring near eleven thousand men into the field, he thought adviseable. But his officers determined otherwise, and Washington for a few days yielded to their advice. He however, in the mean time, sent Morgan, with 600 men, to reinforce General Maxwell's Brigade, with orders to obstruct the progress of the enemy as much as possible through the Jerseys; while he himself with the main army moved towards Corryell's ferry, that he might be ready to seize any advantageous opportunity that might offer for a general attack. The progress of Clinton, encumbered as he was with an enormous quantity of heavy baggage, was necessarily slow—for in addition to the usual baggage and provision for such an army, he had provided against the possibility of suffering in case of unexpected delays in his march, by a store of provisions sufficient to have lasted him for a month; so that his baggage wagons, horses, and carts, resembled the suite of an army of a hundred thousand men, and covered almost as great an extent of ground. Upon reaching Mount Holly, Clinton, contrary to the expectations of Washington, took the road towards San-

dy Hook, instead of keeping to the left towards the Rariton, and thus induced Washington to suppose that his object was to draw him into an engagement in the flat country, and then by a rapid change of motion to pursue the route to Brunswick. But Clinton was neither anxious to seek nor to avoid an engagement; he had chosen that route, most probably because he thought it possible that General Gates might form a junction with Washington at the Rariton, and thus cut off his retreat. Whatever might have been his object, Washington was for a time deceived by it; but the moment he discovered that Clinton meant to pursue his course to the sea coast, he determined not to let him escape without battle.

With this view, he despatched a body of troops under the Marquis de la Fayette, with orders to approach and harrass the enemy's rear, while he moved on with the main army to his support. Clinton, supposing from this measure that Washington's object was simply to cut off his baggage, placed his whole train of incumbrances in the front, under the orders and protection of General Knyphausen, and remained himself with the main body of his army, to check the attempts of the Marquis de la Fayette. This made it necessary for Washington to send a larger force to the aid of the Marquis, and two brigades being ordered to join him, the whole force was placed under the command of Major General Lee. Clinton, with his whole army, lay at Monmouth, a few miles from the heights of Middletown; it was important therefore that the attack should be made before he could reach so advantageous a position. At day light on the morning of the 28th, General Knyphausen moved on from Monmouth with the baggage, while Sir

Henry with the *elite* of the army, maintained his position until eight o'clock. Upon receiving intelligence of this movement, Washington sent orders to Lee at Englishtown, seven miles from Monmouth, to march on to the attack of the British rear ; unless there should appear "*very powerful reasons*" to deter him—giving him information, at the same time, that he was approaching to his support.

Lee lost no time in putting his troops into motion, and by the time he had advanced within a few miles of Monmouth, he discovered that Clinton was also in motion, and advancing to meet him. General Grayson, with the two brigades of Scott and Varnum led the van of Lee's division, and were soon joined by the Marquis de la Fayette. The whole party seemed to be at a loss to understand the movements of the enemy, and continued to pass and repass the ravines which every where intersect this part of the country. In this state of indecision, Cornwallis, who led the van of the enemy, made a furious charge with his dragoons, upon the Marquis de la Fayette, and drove him back in some confusion. Lee, in the mean time, under supposition that Cornwallis was detached from the main army, made a feint of retreating, that he might draw the General after him ; but one of his officers, General Scott, who had under him the greater part of Lee's forces, misunderstood the orders, and actually retreated. This obliged Lee to follow until he could overtake him, the army hanging upon his rear—in this situation, he was met by Washington, who, vexed at a supposed disobedience of his orders, accosted him with rather more vehemence than the hot temper of Lee could brook—he refused to explain his conduct, and a warm altercation ensued.

Washington now himself at the head of the army, moved on to battle, and a general action was soon brought on, which lasted through the whole of one of the hottest days of the summer.

Lee who had been ordered again to lead the van, met the whole shock of the British advance, which he sustained with his usual gallantry, until so closely pursued by the British horse, that his troops gave way, and he was again compelled to retreat; which he did with the most perfect order and coolness. Before the retreat of Lee, General Greene moved up with his division, and in conjunction with General Wayne, took such a position that the British gave way, and retired behind a defile; where before any disposition could be made to attack them, night came on, and both armies drew off from the contest.

No advantage was gained to either party by this hard-fought battle; nor was the loss very great on either side. The British left on the field *two hundred and forty nine*, who were afterwards buried by our men, besides those that were buried by their own men during the night—and *forty four* wounded. Among their killed was Lieutenant Colonel Monckton, an officer of considerable distinction.

The Americans lost 69 killed, and 160 wounded. Among the killed, were Lieutenant Colonel Bonner, and Major Dickman. Many of the soldiers of both armies fell dead upon the field, from excess of fatigue and heat.

Washington lay upon his arms all night, expecting to renew the attack in the morning; but Sir Henry Clinton disappointed him by moving off at midnight with his whole army; and as Washington, though he might very justly claim the victory, was

not in a situation to pursue him over the deep sands of Jersey, he continued his route without further molestation to New-York. Washington after refreshing his wearied troops, and providing as far as possible for the comfort of the wounded, moved on at his leisure towards the Hudson.

The reception which General Lee met with from the Commander in Chief, was not easily to be forgotten. Lee very imprudently renewed the irritation of Washington's feelings, by addressing a letter to him after the action, in which he expressed himself in harsh and unwarrantable terms. The consequence was his arrest and trial by a Court Martial. The charges against him were, 1st. Disobedience of orders in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June, agreeably to repeated instructions.—2d. *Misbehaviour* before the enemy on the same day, in making an *unnecessary, disorderly and shameful retreat*—and 3d. Disrespect to the Commander in Chief. The Court Martial, of which Lord Stirling was President, found him *guilty* upon *all* these charges—upon what *proofs*, it would puzzle the most indefatigable researcher into the mysteries of testimony, to discover. There can be no doubt, that the orders given to Lee, reserved to him a discretionary power. If indeed he had obeyed them, without attending to the “very powerful reasons” which forbade it, he must have lost his whole division, which amounted to no more than 5000, while the force of Clinton was more than three times that number; and Washington with the main army was *six miles* in the rear. The second charge was so totally contrary to the fact, so wholly repugnant to the life and character of General Lee, so inconsistent with the conduct of the many brave

and excellent officers who served in his division, that the decision of the Court becomes perfectly enigmatical. That he was guilty of *disrespect* to the Commander in chief, was unfortunately too true: and the *sentence* of the Court, which was a *suspension from command* for twelve months, seems to imply that this was the only charge which they themselves *believed* to be true, notwithstanding their most extraordinary decision. For, if General Lee had really been thought guilty of the two first charges, the punishment was wholly inadequate to the offence—he deserved *death*, and would have met it, under any service in the world. What then are we to suppose were the motives of the Court?—Surely they could not have thought to *gratify* the Commander in Chief, by disgracing General Lee?—And yet we shall search in vain into the recesses of the human heart, for any other motive, which could have induced them to defy truth, justice and fact, to destroy the reputation of a brave, and *veteran* soldier, whose enthusiastick love of liberty alone had brought him from his native country to fight the battles of our infant republick. It is scarcely necessary to add, that Lee never again drew his sword.

Congress, which had removed its session to Yorktown when Sir William Howe took possession of Philadelphia, returned to the latter, as soon as it had been evacuated by Sir Henry Clinton. The city contrary to all expectations, was found to have received little or no injury by the enemy's troops—a fact very much to the credit of Sir William Howe.

The Commissary General Wadsworth, having reported to Congress the extreme difficulty of supplying the army, under the existing regulations of prices,

which had been adopted by the Legislatures of the several states, that body passed some resolutions recommending to the several states the suspension of the regulations—which had no other effect than to invite violations of the law, and afford opportunities for individuals to amass fortunes at the publick expense.

An unfortunate circumstance had occurred among the prisoners at Cambridge, in the month of June, which led to a correspondence between General Heath, and General Philips, and which was now laid before Congress. From these papers it appeared, that a British Lieutenant, in defiance of all rules, military, conventional or *moral*, insisted upon passing over the limits of his parole, with a view to *take the air*, in the company of two *prostitutes*. The centinel of course refused him permission to pass, and the gentleman persisted—adding to the impropriety of his conduct by abuse of the centinel for performing his duty. The centinel several times repeated his order to stop, but Mr. Brown went on, and was *shot*. The conduct of General Philips, on this occasion, was little less improper than that of the Lieutenant had been; and General Heath very properly revoked his parole, and confined him to his quarters under guard, which Congress approved of by resolution.

The escape of Sir Henry Clinton and of Lord Howe from the Delaware, was perhaps one of the most signal instances of good fortune that ever occurred to an army. The British fleet had scarcely left the Capes of the Delaware, when the Count D'Estaing with a much superiour force appeared on the coast of Virginia, and a few days afterwards came into the mouth of the Delaware. His grand object

had been to surprise the English fleet at Philadelphia, which nothing but the most extraordinary continuance of bad weather on his passage from Toulon could have prevented. If he had arrived only ten days before he did, Sir Henry Clinton's whole army must have fallen, as his movements were so intimately connected with the fleet, that any disaster to the latter must inevitably have led to his destruction.—Or, if, instead of coming at all into the Delaware, the Count D'Estaing had gone immediately to New-York, it is more than probable that the same fate would have been the result to the British army and fleet. It can hardly be supposed, that the Count had not heard of the evacuation of Philadelphia, and the sailing of the fleet, before he arrived at the mouth of the Delaware—intelligence of such importance is generally communicated with great rapidity—but he seems on all occasions, to have paid a too scrupulous regard to the *literal* construction of his orders; the consequence of which was, that the arrival of his fleet failed to render all the services which the Americans had a right to expect from it. He followed Lord Howe to New-York, it is true, but before his arrival there, Sir Henry Clinton and his army were safe; and if he had succeeded in passing beyond the bar at Sandy Hook, the only advantage which he could have gained would have been the capture of the fleet. It appeared, however, that even this was denied to him, for it was declared by his pilots to be impossible for his large ships to pass the bar.

The Count D'Estaing continued without the Hook from the 8th to the 22d July, blockading the English fleet. During this time a great number of English vessels fell into his hands, that were daily arriving

with provisions and other stores for the fleet and army. The conduct of the British, both officers and men, while they were thus blockaded, deserves the most honourable mention. So many of the army volunteered to serve on board the fleet as mariners, that it became necessary to decide by lot, who should have this honour; and gentlemen of the first distinction presented themselves to Lord Howe, to be disposed of as he might think most conducive to his successful defence. It was the display of a spirit not more honourable to the British nation, than to the character of Lord Howe, in whose skill and valour, every one seemed to place the most implicit reliance.—The Captain of a trading vessel, which constituted his only property, offered her as a *fire ship*, and to conduct her himself as he might be directed, without reward or even remuneration for the sacrifice of his all. Fortunately for the British this patriotick and chivalrous spirit was not put to the test—If the French fleet had passed the bar into the harbour of New-York, there can be no doubt that the most bloody engagement would have ensued ever recorded in the annals of naval warfare. But Providence determined otherwise. The Count D'Estaing departed from New-York just as many days too soon, as he had arrived in the Delaware too late, or the whole of Admiral Byron's scattered fleet would have fallen into his hands, a resistless prey.

About this time, General Washington had formed a plan for attacking the garrisons in Rhode Island, which had been in the possession of the British since December, 1776. General Sullivan was employed to command the expedition, with a force of *ten thousand* men; and the Count D'Estaing now bent his

course towards the harbour of Newport, for the purpose of cooperating with him. The appearance of the French fleet off Newport, induced the British Commander, Major General Sir Robert Pigot, to give orders for burning and sinking six English vessels that lay within the harbour; to prevent their falling into the hands of the Count. And this loss to the enemy was the only advantage gained by the expedition. Sir Robert Pigot had about *six thousand* men under his command, so advantageously posted, that without the cooperation of the Count D'Estaing, it was impossible for General Sullivan to effect any thing. His force was composed chiefly of volunteers and militia from Massachusetts and the adjoining states, all anxious for engagement; but while they were every moment waiting for the assistance of the Count's fleet, Lord Howe, who had received intelligence of the danger which threatened his Majesty's forces in Rhode Island, suddenly appeared with his increased fleet off the harbour, and the Count's eagerness for naval fame induced him to seek an engagement with him at sea. The tempestuous state of the weather rendered all their efforts on both sides fruitless, to come to a general engagement. Some of the French ships, particularly the flag ship of the Count D'Estaing, suffered considerable damage by the gale—and each party at the end of three days, during which it lasted, seemed to be content to leave the superiority undecided. The only circumstance worthy of note in this play of the two fleets, was an engagement between a British 50 gun ship and a French 74 both of which had escaped the effects of the gale. The *Isis*, Captain Rayner, and the *César*, Monsieur Bougainville, had a severe contest within pistol shot,

which lasted for one hour and a half, in which the 74 received so much injury that she was glad to escape with all sail before the wind.

At the moment of the Count D'Estaing's leaving the harbour to meet the English fleet, General Sullivan began to move with his troops; but the weather operated almost as much against him, as it had done against the fleets, and it was eight days after his crossing Howland's ferry to Long Island, before he could bring himself before the enemy. He knew, however, that all his hopes of success must depend upon the co-operation of D'Estaing; and as, after the storm, he showed no disposition to return into the harbour, a deputation, consisting of General Greene and the Marquis de la Fayette, was sent on board the Count's ship to urge his immediate return into the harbour. This, it seems, he was himself willing to do, but his officers unanimously opposed the measure, and insisted upon his complying with instructions to proceed to Boston to refit his shattered fleet—a determination which he had no power to resist, and the American army was thus left without that cooperation which was essential to the successful prosecution of their plans. A formal protest was drawn up by all the American officers, with the exception of the Marquis de la Fayette, and sent to the Count immediately after the return of the deputation; but it produced no other effect than a spirited reply from the Count, who weighed anchor the next day and repaired to Boston.

There can be no just cause of complaint against the conduct of the Count d'Estaing, in not returning into the harbour of Newport, after the disasters which his fleet had suffered in the tempest: his instructions on that head were positive, and it would have been

highly improper to have set at nought the unanimous advice of his officers. But he deserves censure for having in the first instance left the harbour to seek the gratification of his own ambition, when he must have known that his remaining to cooperate with General Sullivan, would have been the means of effectually reducing the British power in Rhode Island. Unfortunately the Count d'Estaing was a land officer ; and so great was the jealousy of the naval officers over whom he was placed, that they were unwilling to assent to any measure which could lead to the advancement of his reputation in that character.

The moment it became known to the American army, that the Count d'Estaing had sailed with his whole fleet to Boston, the militia and volunteers began to move off ; so that in the course of a few days General Sullivan found his numbers reduced so much, that the prosecution of his original design was impracticable, and it became necessary for him to retreat. In effecting this a severe engagement was brought on between about 1200 Americans, under General Greene, and a party of Hessians and four British regiments under Generals Lossberg and Smith. The action lasted the whole afternoon of the 29th of August, and ended with no great advantages on either side. General Lovell, of the Massachusetts militia, and Colonels Laurens, Livingston and Jackson, particularly distinguished themselves. General Sullivan conducted the retreat in a style that did him great honour—having brought off all his baggage and men, just time enough to escape Sir Henry Clinton, who arrived from New York on the 1st of September, with a reinforcement of four thousand men.

Lord Howe, finding that his enemy had gone to Boston, pursued him thither; but the situation of the Count was too secure to render an attempt upon him adviseable. The Count had immediately on his arrival at Boston, addressed a letter to Congress, in which he endeavoured to give a satisfactory explanation of his leaving Newport, by representing the shattered condition of his fleet, and the positive orders from his Court to repair to Boston should it become necessary to refit any of his ships. He adverted to the protest which had been made by the American officers, in pretty spirited terms; and his subsequent offer, when pressed to return with his fleet to Newport, to lead his troops over by land to the assistance of General Sullivan, showed that his conduct neither proceeded from a want of valour or of a proper regard for the interest of his allies.

Thus ended the first campaign after the alliance with France, in which nothing was gained to either party. The great skill and gallantry of Lord Howe, though his force was for the most part inferior to that of the Count d'Estaing, prevented the latter from rendering us any active services; but his arrival was nevertheless important to us in another point of view, as it gave the most unequivocal assurance of the friendship of the French King, and kept up a spirit of animation in our resistance, which a dependence on our own exertions alone might not have been able to effect.

Several affairs of a less general, though not less important nature, occurred during the present year, which it will be now proper to relate.

Early in January, a Captain John Folger arrived from Paris, with a large packet of papers directed to

the President of Congress, which upon inspection were discovered to be *blank*. This circumstance was well calculated to excite suspicion of some intended fraud, and Captain Folger was ordered to be *imprisoned*, under an impression that he knew more of it than he was willing to communicate. He was also the bearer of despatches from our Commissioners at Paris, which could lead to no developement of the mystery. A committee was appointed by Congress to investigate the strange affair; but their examination was fruitless, and the Captain, after several months confinement, was finally discharged, with the payment of his expenses. A short time after this occurrence a Mr. *Francey* arrived from Paris, and presented himself to Congress as the agent of M. *Beaumarchais*, with a letter of recommendation signed by *Silas Deane only*, in which the speedy attention of Congress was urgently requested to the settlement of *Beaumarchais's* claim for supplies, said to have been furnished at his own cost. Though the suspicions of Congress were somewhat awakened by the singular manner in which this claim came before them, they nevertheless received Mr. *Francey* as the authorised agent of *Beaumarchais*, and entered into stipulations for the equitable adjustment of his claim.—It would be to occupy too much time, and to travel somewhat out of the track prescribed to this history, to enter into a minute examination of this deep laid and villainous scheme of imposition; in which there is but too much reason to believe that *Mr. Deane*, one of our Commissioners at Paris, acted a primary part. Suffice it to say, that subsequent events led to a developement of the fraud: and that after a perseverance of more than forty years by *Beaumarchais* and his agents,

the Congress (even while we write this) have *almost* unanimously, and we hope finally, rejected the claim, on the ground that the supplies were furnished from the treasury of the King of France, and not from the the purse of M. *Beaumarchais*.

Some time in February of the present year, Captain Biddle sailed from Charleston on a cruise, in the frigate *Randolph*, of 36 guns and 305 men. With this small force, on the night of the 7th of March, he had the boldness to attack the British ship *Yarmouth*, of 64 guns, commanded by Captain Vincent. With such disparity of force, it was not possible that the *Randolph* could long sustain the action; after two or three broadsides, she blew up, and the whole crew were lost, with the exception of four or five men, who for five days floated on a piece of the wreck—at the end of this period they were happily discovered by Captain Vincent, and relieved from their distressing situation.

We have now to relate a transaction, the recollection of which, even at this distance of time, is sufficient to freeze the blood of an American, and cause him to blush that he sprang from a nation that could forget the duties and feelings of humanity. General Schuyler had made repeated representations to the proper authority, of the exposed situation of the frontiers of New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, and of the threatening attitude which the Savages had assumed, under the countenance of two *refugee* or *tory* scoundrels, by the names of *Butler* and *Brandt*—the last, half an Indian by birth, and more than a savage in ferociousness of character. These representations of General Schuyler, for some reason or other, met with no attention—the Indians and Tories

continued to increase in numbers, and to be more and more daring in their acts of cruelty and depredation. At length in the beginning of July, their plans having been completely matured, they collected a considerable force in the fine and flourishing settlement of *Wyoming*, on the *Susquehannah*. The scene which they transacted here, has been so often the theme of the poet, the painter, and the historian, that the simple relation of it is all that is left us. Indeed it is scarcely possible for the imagination to go beyond the reality of barbarous sufferings that were there inflicted upon the unoffending and defenceless inhabitants.

The district of *Wyoming*, consisting of eight townships, each of five miles square, was situated on both sides of the *Susquehannah*; and though within the territory of *Pennsylvania*, it was peopled almost entirely by emigrants from *Connecticut*. A dispute indeed had long existed between these two States under their Colonial governments with regard to the right which both claimed to this district—which is one of the many proofs to which we had occasion to allude, in the early part of this history, of the entire ignorance of the British King and his Council, as it regarded the geography of this country. The grant had been originally made to *Connecticut*, and afterwards to *Pennsylvania*; and these conflicting claims had been supported with such obstinacy by both Colonies, that the Revolution found them actually engaged in mutual hostilities. This event put an end for the time to private jealousies and animosities, and the district furnished a thousand men to the continental army. This circumstance alone is sufficient to show the flourishing condition of this romantick and beautiful country. Every part of the forty miles

square resembled a rich and fertile garden. The industrious sons of Connecticut had, notwithstanding the constant quarrels with their neighbours, laboured so assiduously to improve their little farms, that no portion of any country in the world, perhaps, ever presented a richer or fairer prospect.

Unfortunately, small as this settlement was, and connected as almost all its inhabitants were, by ties of consanguinity, they did not unite on the grand question of political independence. There were many among them who still adhered to the cause of the King, and who sought by every means in their power to betray their struggling countrymen. Of these men, called in the language of the day *Tories*, the two persons already mentioned were the Chiefs; and it is a remarkable fact, that one of them was the near relation and of the same name, of the unfortunate Colonel Butler who commanded the troops of Wyoming. Being, as it appears, abandoned to themselves by the Congress and Commander in Chief, they were compelled to find the means of protecting themselves against the constant incursions of the Savages, and for this purpose they had constructed four small forts. In the largest of these, called fort Kingston, Colonel Butler was stationed, with the principal force of the settlement.

For a considerable time previous to the general attack, small marauding parties, consisting chiefly of *tories*, had made frequent irruptions into the settlement, and committed robberies and murders; while the Indians themselves were making daily professions of friendship, and deluding the inhabitants with promises of unbroken peace. What seems to have given a new fury to the *tories*, and brought on this ge-

neral attack and universal desolation, was the circumstance of a number of strangers having been taken up by the people of Wyoming, on evidence of their correspondence with the enemy, and sent to Connecticut for trial. These strangers formed a part of the corps of tories, and to avenge the indignity offered to these betrayers of hospitality, the sons and brothers of the unhappy people of Wyoming were resolved to drench their fields in blood, and root out all traces of man from the devoted settlement.

The force under the tory chief, *Butler*, was between sixteen and seventeen hundred men, about one fourth of whom were Indians—the tories were disguised and painted, after the manner of the savages, with whom they seem to have made an exchange of natures—for the cruelties of the *red* men, were mercies compared to the barbarities which these Anglo-American monsters perpetrated. One of the forts was betrayed by the tories, of whom the garrison chiefly consisted; and a second being taken by storm, its whole force was massacred. After these beginnings, the *tories* marched to Kingston, where, as it has been said, Colonel Zebulon Butler was posted with about five hundred men, and all the women and children, and defenceless persons, who had crowded into this place for protection. It is possible, and barely possible, that with this force, and with these hindrances, Colonel Butler might have been able to hold out for a short time against the attack of his infamous cousin with four times his numbers; but in an evil hour he listened to the proposition of the latter for a parley, and was thus ensnared beyond the possibility of escape. The *Indian* Butler had agreed to withdraw his troops from the investment of the garrison, upon

condition that its commander should come out and hold a conference with him in the open field. Colonel Butler, eager no doubt to catch at any means that seemed to promise safety to his people, and yet distrusting the sincerity of the other's promises, consented to march out, but took with him at the same time nearly the whole force of the garrison, to guard against the very treachery to which he fell a victim.

A strange weakness and infatuation seem to have marked every step of the conduct of Colonel Butler, until engaged in the fight, when the desperate courage which he displayed evinced that his fate might have been more prosperous had this courage been properly directed. When he found no person to confer with upon arriving at the appointed place, the suspicion of treachery which he had before entertained must have amounted to certainty; and it is almost inconceivable that he should still have wandered on even to the foot of the mountains, where no chance remained for him to retreat, should his fears be verified. This was precisely what the wily commander of the savages wanted. As soon therefore as Colonel Butler had shown himself at the entrance of the thick wood which skirted the mountain, the enemy's flag of truce appeared, as if like himself fearful of treachery; the flag was cautiously and cunningly moved from place to place, luring the wretched troops of the garrison to their ruin. At length the farce was changed to a dreadful tragedy, and at the moment that Colonel Butler, in the honesty and simplicity of his heart, was expecting to meet in friendly conference, he found himself surrounded on all sides, by the yelling savages, and his worse than savage countrymen.

Such was the determined bravery with which the unfortunate Colonel and his men, met this surprise, that it is by no means improbable the event of the day would have been very different, but for the treachery or cowardice of one of his men; who, after a contest of nearly an hour, in which a manifest advantage had been gained over the enemy, cried out that the Colonel had ordered a *retreat*. The confusion which ensued may be easily conceived; the assailants rushed in, and commenced the bloody work of slaughter. The Colonel with about 70 of his party, by the most singular good management and courage, effected their escape and gained the little fort of Wilkesborough, on the other side of the river. After the savages had completed their work of slaughter in the field, they proceeded immediately to invest Fort Kingston, in which Colonel Dennison had been left with the small remnant of Colonel Butler's troops, and the defenceless women and children. In such a state of weakness, a defence of the Fort was out of the question; and all that remained to Dennison was to attempt to gain some advantageous terms by the offer of a surrender. For this purpose, he went himself to the savage chief; but that inhuman monster, that Christian cannibal, replied to the question of terms, that he should grant them *the hatchet*.—He was more than true to his word—for, when after resisting until all his garrison were killed or disabled, Colonel Dennison was compelled to surrender at discretion, his merciless conqueror, tired of scalping, and finding the slow process of individual murder insufficient to glut his appetite, shut up all that remained in the houses and barracks, and by the summary aid of fire, reduced all at once to one promiscuous heap of ashes.

Nothing now remained that wore the face of resistance to these savage invaders, but the little fort of Wilksborough, into which about seventy of Colonel Butler's men had effected their retreat, as has been said. These, with about the same number of continental soldiers, constituted its whole force; and when their enemy appeared before them, they surrendered without even asking conditions, under the hope that their voluntary obedience might find some mercy. But mercy dwelt not in the bosoms of these American tories—submission could not stay their insatiable thirst of blood. The cruelties and barbarities which were practised upon these unresisting soldiers, were even more wanton, if possible, than those which had been exhibited at Fort Kingston. The seventy continental soldiers, *because* they were *continental* soldiers, were deliberately butchered in cruel succession; and then a repetition of the same scene of general and promiscuous conflagration took place which had closed the tragedy at the other fort. Men, women, and children were locked up in the houses, and left to mingle their cries and screams with the flames that mocked the power of an avenging God.

All this it might have been thought, would have fully satiated even tory vengeance: but the desolation of Wyoming was not yet complete—there still remained waving fields of corn, that had promised plenty to the wretched inhabitants—there still remained many evidences of the industry of the farmer and the mechanick. These were to be swept from the face of the earth. And when the habitations, and the growing wheat, had been alike given up to the flames, the vengeance of these merciless spoilers next fell upon the mute and unoffending beasts of the

field. The tongues of horses and cattle were cut out, and the agonized animals driven about for the amusement of their brutal tormentors. The massacre of men, the conflagration of houses, the butchery of women and children, to the disgrace of civilized man, have been often before recorded among the calamities and horrors of war; but we hope, and believe, that this is the only instance in the annals of the world, where men have made war with the brute creation, and inflicted torments from the mere love of cruelty. The horses, farms and other possessions of the *tories* were exempted from the general devastation, where they were known; but this was not always the case—the ignorance or unrestrainable ferocity of their friends, sometimes brought them into a participation of the general sufferings, and many of them were driven to seek protection from the fury of their friends, of the proscribed and wandering patriots.

Horrible as was this tragedy in its general features, there were peculiar circumstances attending some of its scenes, which, but that the evidences of their reality are too strong, we should pass over as the creations of a distempered mind. A Captain Bedlock, who had been taken prisoner, had his naked body stuck full of sharpened pine sticks, and being in this state placed within a circle of turpentine knots, the whole was set on fire; and as if to add a mental pang to the agonies of the body, his two friends, Captains Ransom and Durgee, were thrown into the burning circle to perish with him.—A mother with her daughters and infant grandchildren were butchered *by a son*; her crime was having married a second husband, who also fell by the same hand.—In another instance, *a son*

became the cold-blooded executioner of father, mother, sisters and brothers. These things were not the ebullitions of a momentary rage in the heat of battle—they were transacted some days after all resistance had ceased—not by the wild untutored Indians, but by *civilized men*, professing the religion of Christ—by American *tories*. It is seldom just or reasonable to censure a whole people, or a whole party, for the licentious conduct of a few individuals; but it certainly cannot be regarded as wonderful that the name of *tory* should continue even to the present day to be a theme of execration by the people of the United States. We do not for a moment admit the belief, that the fiends of Wyoming perpetrated their enormities under the sanction, or by the orders, of the British government; but it must nevertheless be regarded as an everlasting stigma upon their character, that no means were taken to punish these violators of all law, human and divine, or to disavow the offence. It is too true, indeed, on the contrary, that many of these shameless outrages against humanity are to be traced to the avowed *agents* of the English government, who by *paying large rewards for scalps*, excited the avarice of *white*, as well as *red men*, and inured them to scenes of blood. Whether these agents had the direct *orders* of their government to do this, or not, they were certainly clothed with *authority*, and according to the maxim, *qui facit per alium, facit per se*, the government must remain obnoxious to the reproach of wanton barbarity in the conduct of the war.

During the present summer, an expedition was fitted out from Virginia by Colonel Clarke, against the settlements in the Mississippi and Illinois country.

His force consisted of about 250 men, with whom he undertook to traverse a distance of 1200 miles, through an uninhabited wilderness. The provision which they were able to take with them, held out only until their arrival at the great falls of the Ohio, from which they had a march of two days before them to the town of Kaskaskias. This town consisted of about two hundred and fifty houses, protected by a small fort, which with proper precaution would have been sufficient to have kept off a much larger force than that which was now brought against it. But the Americans, who had fasted for two days, were determined here to end their sufferings in victory or death. They had arrived at night, when the inhabitants of the town, unsuspecting of any hostile approach, were buried in sleep; so that the town and fort fell into the hands of Colonel Clarke, without a struggle. He had so well planned his attack that not a man escaped. The Governour was sent to Virginia, and the inhabitants were required to take an oath of allegiance to the United States. Colonel Clarke took up his head quarters at the fort, and from thence planned several expeditions into the neighbouring settlements, which proved equally successful—having taken three French towns, and brought them under allegiance to the United States.

CHAPTER VIII.

Events of 1778 continued.—Recognizance of M. Gerard as Minister from the French King—Dr. Franklin appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to France—Marquis de la Fayette returns to France.—Count D'Estaing sails from Boston.—Unsuccessful attempt of Admiral Byron—General Gates arrives to take command at Boston.—Movements of Sir Henry Clinton—his expedition against Bedford—against Egg Harbour.—Slaughter of Pulaski's Light Infantry—of Baylor's regiment of Horse—Congress grant half pay to the American officers.—Exchange of prisoners.—Expeditions against East Florida.—Sir Henry Clinton sends an expedition against Georgia.—Defeat of General Robert Howe, and capture of Savannah, by Colonel Campbell.—Marauding incursions into Georgia from East Florida.—General Prevost arrives—takes Sunbury, and the whole of Georgia falls.—Expedition from Schoharie—Gallant exploit of Major Talbot.—Conduct of the enemy at Cherry Valley.—Mr. Silas Deane makes an appeal to the people—Is answered by "Common Sense."—Monsieur Gerard presents a memorial to Congress—The French and British fleets meet in the West Indies.—Generals Schuyler and St. Clair honourably acquitted by their Courts Martial.—Sentence against General Lee confirmed.—Reflections on the state of the Country.

THE honourable Sieur Gerard, who had been for some time resident in the United States as a publick agent of the Crown of France, was very soon after the conclusion of the Treaties, appointed by his master *Minister Plenipotentiary* to the United States. This was an epoch in the history of our infant nation; and his presentation to Congress was attended with much ceremony. The 6th of August had been fixed upon for his introduction; the government of Pennsylvania were invited to attend, and each member of Congress was authorized to give two tickets of ad-

mission to his friends. The new Minister was introduced by two members of Congress appointed for that duty, and being led to a seat, his Secretary delivered to the President of Congress, the credentials of his Excellency in a letter from his most Christian Majesty, which being read, the President formally announced to the Congress M. Gerard as Minister Plenipotentiary. His Excellency then addressed them in his native tongue; the President replied with suitable compliments; and a publick entertainment, given by Congress, closed the transaction.

A few weeks after this, Congress appointed, by ballot, Dr. Franklin to be Minister Plenipotentiary to France. One of the most important points of his instructions, was to lay before the Court of France a plan which had been formed in conjunction with the Marquis de la Fayette and M. Gerard, for the *conquest* of Canada; and the young Marquis soon after obtained leave from Congress to return to France. He took with him a letter of strong recommendation to the French King; and our new Minister was directed to cause an elegant sword to be made and presented to him in the name of the United States. The plan of an expedition to Canada, which had been first suggested by Mr. Gerard, had manifestly other objects in view than to aid the cause of the United States. It has been hinted, in the early part of this work, that France saw the struggles of the Colonies with the Mother Country, with secret satisfaction, and that she looked forward to the time when a cooperation with us might be the means of regaining her own conquered possessions in America. That this was the present object of the French Minister and of France, there is no reason to doubt; and it certainly relieves

the United States from the obligation of gratitude to France for *disinterested* aid in the accomplishment of their independence. The character of the Marquis de la Fayette, his high sense of honour, his chivalrous spirit, (evinced in his challenging the Earl of Carlisle to single combat, to answer for some of his expressions in his public capacity of Commissioner,) and his ardent love of glory, forbid any suspicion that he was acquainted with the ultimate views of France; his having entered into the arrangement, therefore, may be attributed solely to his hope of acquiring military fame, and his attachment to the cause of liberty and independence.

It has been observed that the Count D'Estaing left Rhode Island and sailed to Boston, in direct opposition to the wishes and remonstrances of General Sullivan and all the American officers. This circumstance, the causes and incidents of which had been considerably exaggerated in the relation, produced rather a cool reception for him at Boston: but his explanation of the affair, and the great urbanity and strict propriety of his subsequent deportment at Boston, completely satisfied the reflecting part of the community of the purity of his intentions. To his good sense and sound discretion it was owing, that an affray which commenced with a party of captive British sailors and the French bakers, did not end in a serious and general riot. Two of his officers were wounded in endeavouring to put a stop to the quarrel, one of whom died of his wound a few days afterwards; but the conduct of the Count on this occasion showed that he knew how to distinguish between the lawless outrage of a few individuals, and the disposition of the publick. Every facility in the power of the peo-

ple of Boston was afforded to the Count for the repair of his fleet ; so that when Admiral Byron arrived off the harbour from New York, with a fleet well appointed and prepared for attack, the Count was in a situation to defend himself with every prospect of success. His security was still further increased by a battery of near a hundred guns, which he had erected on George's Island. Whether Admiral Byron would have had the boldness to make an attack under such circumstances, was left altogether to conjecture, as another severe storm soon compelled him to change his position, and seek shelter at Rhode Island. The Count, whose force was considerably inferior to that of the English, and who was of course desirous of avoiding an engagement, seized the opportunity of a change of weather to depart for the West Indies, whither he sailed on the 3d of November. Previous to his departure from Boston, the Count, as a part of the contemplated plan against Canada, addressed a letter to its French inhabitants, in the name of their former master, in which he endeavoured to prepare them for the intended expedition, and for a probable change in their political situation. Two days after his departure, General Gates arrived at Boston, to take command of that portion of the American army.

We have seen that Sir Henry Clinton arrived at Rhode Island with his reinforcements of 4,000 men, too late to accomplish his purpose of cutting off the masterly retreat of General Sullivan, who notwithstanding his abandonment by the French fleet and the whole corps of New England volunteers, forced his way through the British and Hessian troops to the main land. Frustrated in this design, Sir Hen-

ry returned to New-York, whence he soon after despatched an expedition under Major General Grey, against Bedford and New-Haven on the Acushinot river. The Major General took with him a fleet of transports, and having landed his troops, met with little difficulty in effecting his object, which was the destruction of the shipping and privateers of these places, from the vigilance of which the British commerce had suffered considerable loss. He destroyed about seventy sail of vessels, and all the magazines, warehouses, wharves and ropewalks which were to be found on both sides of the river. From Bedford, Major General Grey proceeded to Martha's Vineyard, from which he took off a considerable number of sheep and oxen, which enabled Sir Henry to equip another more important expedition against Egg Harbour, immediately on the return of the Major General from this marauding excursion. Lord Howe had, in the mean time, resigned his command of the fleet, to Admiral Gambier, and had returned to England.

The expedition against Egg Harbour consisted of a strong body of troops, under Lord Cornwallis, who advanced into Jersey, and took a position between Newbridge on the Hackinsack, and the North River:—and Lieutenant General Knyphausen with another division of the army, who advanced on the side of West Chester, and placed himself between the North River and the Bronx, thus forming a parallel line with Lord Cornwallis, and having only the North River between the two divisions. The British army thus having complete command of the river, and as it were blockading the American forces in the Highlands. Captain Ferguson of the 70th Re-

giment, was despatched with three frigates and some light vessels to Egg Harbour, but the Americans having received intelligence of their approach, had sent most of their large vessels to sea, and had removed the others to a considerable distance up the river. When Captain Ferguson arrived, therefore, he found little or nothing to destroy. But learning that the vessels had been sent up the river, he proceeded with the light armed vessels to a place called Chestnut Neck, where they found ten vessels, chiefly British prizes, which were destroyed. A small militia force were stationed here for the protection of the vessels, but they made only a show of resistance, and dispersed as soon as the British troops landed. After burning the ships, they proceeded, as at Bedford and New Haven, to destroy the habitations and store houses; and making several excursions into the neighbouring country, they wantonly fired private dwellings, destroyed several considerable salt works, and committed every species of depredation that could disgrace the soldier.

On their return to Egg Harbour, they received intelligence of some deserters from Pulaski's legion, which induced them to attempt a surprise of the light infantry belonging to that corps. For this purpose, Captain Ferguson embarked with *two hundred and fifty* men in barges in the night, and landed within a short distance of the place where a party of the light infantry were quartered and *asleep*—in this situation he fell upon them, and slaughtered about *fifty* men, among whom were several officers of distinction. Some of Pulaski's horse made an attempt to cut off the retreat of this party, but were unsuccessful.

In the meantime a similar scene of savage warfare had been carried on by a part of Lord Cornwallis's division, under the command of Major General Grey. This "*no flint General*" as he had been called, from his attachment to the use of the bayonet, was despatched by Lord Cornwallis to surprise and cut off Baylor's regiment of light horse, which had been detached to watch the movements of the British foraging parties. The regiment lay at the village of Old Taapan, to which place Major General Grey moved with such secrecy and expedition, that the village was completely surrounded by his troops without being discovered, and a sergeant's patrol of twelve men cut off, before a man of the regiment knew that he was in danger. It was night, and the whole regiment were naked and asleep in the barns. Resistance in such a situation was impossible—they did not even attempt to take up their arms, but sued for quarters and for mercy to the defenceless. The mercy which they received was the *bayonet*; and a scene of slaughter and of havock ensued, which vied in barbarity with the enormities of Wyoming. Here there were no *Indians*, upon whom to throw the odium of savage cruelty, no *tories*, whose private resentments and ungovernable passions might be some apology for wanton acts of inhumanity.—They were British troops, under the command of a British Major General, and a part of the army of a British nobleman. The laws of war can never go further than to authorise a retaliation of treatment upon an enemy—whatever conduct *they* pursue in war, may be perhaps justifiably pursued against them. Among civilized nations, the instances of refusing quarter to an unresisting enemy, are rare. Examples of it, indeed,

are scarcely to be found, until the period of the American revolution, when the nation against whom the revolted colonies had to contend, seem to have lost all sense of national honour, to have forgotten the glory of their ancestors, and to have assumed the nature of those savages with whom they had entered into leagues of amity.

Towards the latter end of April, Congress resolved to grant *half pay* for life to the officers in their army, reserving to themselves the privilege of redeeming, at any time they might think proper, this annual stipend by the payment of a sum equivalent to the half pay for six years. General Washington had repeatedly urged the necessity of adopting some measure of this sort, that men might find it their *interest* to enter into the service. No man was better acquainted with human nature than Washington. He knew that "with far the greatest part of mankind, interest is the governing principle," and motives of publick virtue were not of themselves sufficient to keep the American army together for any extended period. His letters to Congress on this subject are master strokes of policy, and evince a profoundness of wisdom, which shows how well he knew how to profit by the lessons of experience. The letter which seems to have been the immediate cause of the resolution of Congress, was that of the 21st April, in which he thus writes: "Men may speculate as they will; they may talk of patriotism; they may draw a few examples from ancient story of great achievements performed by its influence; but whoever builds upon it as a sufficient basis for conducting a long and bloody war, will find himself deceived in the end. We must take the passions of men as na-

arose to every thing like a general proposal, and the affair was left in its former state.

Let us now turn our attention for a few moments to the South, which for a period of more than eighteen months had enjoyed a state of almost uninterrupted tranquillity. In the spring of the present year, a small expedition was sent from Georgia under Captain Willing, against the British settlements in West Florida. They were wholly without protection, and surrendered to Captain Willing without resistance. Another expedition was soon after undertaken by General Robert Howe, against East Florida, at the head of about 2,000 men, chiefly militia of South Carolina and Georgia, which proved greatly unfortunate to the Americans. They proceeded to Fort Tonyn, in the St. Mary's River, which upon their approach was destroyed by the British, who retired to St. Augustine. They met with little or no opposition from the enemy; but the season being uncommonly sickly, and the men unaccustomed to the climate, they were unable to pursue their advantages, disease broke out among them to an alarming degree, and after losing nearly one fourth of their number, they returned without having effected any thing.

Sir Henry Clinton, in the mean time, finding that he was not likely to effect any thing of importance in the north, determined upon making an attempt for the conquest of Georgia. The views of Sir Henry in this expedition, extended even further than the mere conquest of a province; he calculated upon opposing such an effectual barrier to the commerce of South Carolina, as should ensure to his government all the advantages of the southern trade, and finally, by exposing South Carolina to constant inroads from

the force which he should be able to maintain there, force that colony to recede from the union, and return to her obedience to his king. These were comprehensive projects, better calculated to make a noise in Europe, than to produce any lasting advantage either to Sir Henry or his government.

The command of the land forces destined for this expedition, was entrusted to Colonel Campbell: they consisted of two battalions of Hessians, four battalions of provincials, the 71st Regiment of foot, and a detachment of royal artillery, in all about 2,000 men. Transports were provided for them at Sandy Hook, and they embarked on the 27th November, with an escort of several ships of war under the command of Commodore Hyde Parker. General Prevost who commanded the troops in East Florida, had received orders to cooperate with this expedition, by invading Georgia with all the troops that could be collected, and spared from the defence of St. Augustine. The fleet arrived at the island of Tybee, near the mouth of the river Savannah, on the 23d December, and after several day's delay, during which they received exact information of the American defences of the river, they proceeded on the 28th up the river to the landing place, which from the swampy nature of the ground, was a narrow causeway of several hundred yards in length, and of course well calculated for defence. But the whole force destined for the protection of Georgia, amounted to no more than about 800 men, under General Howe. About 50 only of these under Captain Smith, were posted on a piece of rising ground at the head of the causeway to oppose the landing of the enemy; while General Howe himself took a position about half a mile from the

town of Savannah, on the main road leading to the landing place.

Colonel Campbell having made a judicious arrangement of his forces, ordered that Lieutenant Colonel Maitland should land with the first division at day-break on the morning of the 29th. This division consisted of all the light infantry, the New-York volunteers, and the first battalion of the 71st. Captain Cameron was the first to land with his light company, and pushing forward along the causeway, was killed by the first fire from the party under Captain Smith. His company continued their march, and Smith and his little party were obliged to abandon their post. The whole British army having now landed, Colonel Campbell proceeded to move towards the position of General Howe, having left a small detachment to guard the landing place. He pursued the main road, on the left of which was a thickly wooded swamp, and on the right, plantations of rice: a small road crossed the grand route at a small distance from the head of the causeway, at which Colonel Campbell posted a part of the Wisenbach regiment, as a rear guard. The march of the army from the nature of the ground was necessarily slow and cautious: and Colonel Campbell did not come within the proper distance for the commencement of his plan of attack until 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

The position of General Howe was by nature strong and difficult of access. His little army was formed in two divisions, one on each side of the road: on the right was Colonel Eugee with two regiments of South Carolina troops, his right protected by the wood and morass before mentioned: on the

left of the wood was posted Colonel Elliot, with three broken battalions of the Georgia troops, having the river on their left and rice swamps in front. In their rear was a small fort on Savannah Bluff, and the town of Savannah. They had one piece of artillery at each extremity of their line, and two on the great road in their centre, in front of which a deep trench had been cut, which connected the two swamps; and a little in front of the trench ran a swampy brook, the bridge leading over which had been destroyed. General Howe, supposing the woody morass on his right to be impenetrable, and that the enemy would of necessity be compelled to attack him on the left, fancied himself secure; but unfortunately a negro who had fallen into the hands of the enemy, gave them information of a private path which led through the morass. Colonel Campbell immediately saw the advantage which this would give him, and directed Sir James Baird with the light infantry and the New York Volunteers to pursue it, while he formed his artillery in a masked position, ready to open upon the American line, as soon as he should hear that Sir James had gained their right flank. This manœuvre succeeded but too well: Sir James readily gained his object, coming completely round into the rear of Colonel Euger, and at that moment the enemy's artillery unmasked, and the 71st moved briskly up in front.

General Howe saw too late the danger of his situation; attacked at once in front and rear, by a force so much his superiour, he was compelled to order an immediate and precipitate retreat. The British pursued with the ardour of victory, and did great execution, driving the Americans through the town of Savannah, in which they bayoneted many of the de-

fenceless inhabitants, who were trying to make their escape. The Americans lost, besides the capitol of Georgia, upwards of 100 killed, about 450 prisoners, 38 of whom were officers, 48 pieces of cannon, 23 mortars, a large quantity of ammunition, stores and provisions, and all the shipping in the river. General Howe continued his retreat with the remnant of his broken force into South Carolina.

A little before this disastrous affair, a body of the enemy made an irruption into Georgia from East Florida. They were divided into two parties of regulars and refugees, and marched by two different routes, the one towards Sunbury, the other towards Savannah. The first having advanced to Sunbury, either from ignorance of its defence, or from mere bravado, demanded the surrender of the fort, which being refused by its commander, Lieutenant Colonel M'Intosh, they very quietly departed without offering an attack. The movements of the other party were not quite so tranquil; their march through the country having been observed, General Screven collected about a hundred militia and endeavoured to stop their progress. After repeated skirmishes with their advance, the General received a mortal wound from a musket ball, and falling from his horse, several of the assailants ran up and discharged their pieces at him on the ground. About three miles from Ogeechee ferry, a gentleman had erected a breastwork on his own plantation, with the assistance of his slaves, in order to oppose the passage of these invaders, in which Colonel Elbert had taken post with about 200 continentals. The enemy, meeting with this unexpected obstruction, and learning at the same time that their coadjutors had decamped from Sunbury without gaining

their object, retreated—laying waste every thing within their reach, and carrying off whatever they could manage to transport.

In the mean time, General Prevost, who had been ordered to cooperate with Colonel Campbell on the side of East Florida, having collected his scattered forces, marched from St. Augustine, and after encountering many hardships and difficulties, arrived at Sunbury just after the defeat of General Howe at Savannah. The fort now surrendered at discretion, and the General continued his march to Savannah, and took command of the united forces.

To the honour of Colonel Campbell it must be mentioned that his conduct to the inhabitants of Savannah and the neighbouring country, was very different from that of most of the British commanders in our captured towns. Immediately after entering the town he issued a proclamation, encouraging the inhabitants to come in and offer their submission, and promising them protection on condition of their submitting to the royal government. He restrained the soldiers from every species of oppression and depredation, and by his mild and prudent policy, for a time, silenced all republican opposition. The whole state was compelled to yield after the loss of the capital, and once more the royal government was established in Georgia.

In the beginning of October an expedition was undertaken by Colonel William Butler from Schoharie, to the country between the head waters of the Delaware and the Susquehannah, against the Indians and *tories* of that district. They succeeded in destroying a great deal of property on both sides of the river, and returned at the end of a fortnight, after having encountered innumerable dangers and difficulties, from

the heavy rains which had so swelled the rivers and creeks as to render their passage extremely hazardous. The advantages arising from this expedition did not compensate for the fatigue and trouble attending it.

About the same time a most gallant exploit was performed by Major Talbot, who had formed the design of taking the British schooner *Pigot*, of eight 12 pounders, which lay at Howland's ferry, on the east side of Rhode Island. He embarked with a number of troops on board a small vessel from Providence on the 26th October, and arriving on the night of the 28th off the fort on Rhode Island, to prevent an alarm, suffered his vessel to drift down under bare poles until he came within sight of the schooner. Being hailed from the schooner, and returning no answer, he received a volley of musketry, which however he took care not to return, until more sure of his prize. He ran on until the jib boom of his vessel was locked in the foreshrouds of the schooner, and then opened a fire from his cannon and musketry, which proved so destructive, that the enemy soon sued for quarters. The Captain of the *Pigot*, however, behaved with heroic gallantry ; having fought single handed for a considerable time, just in the state in which he had been roused from his bed ; Major Talbot succeeded in carrying off his prize, and arrived safely with her at Stonington. For this gallant enterprise he received from Congress the promotion of Lieutenant Colonel.

A similar expedition to that under the American Colonel Butler was undertaken in November, by the Anglo-Indian Butler, but attended with circumstances of barbarity and cruelty, at which the American chief would have shuddered. At the head of a large party

of Indians, tories, and regulars, he entered Cherry Valley, in the State of New York, on the 11th of November. The fort at that place was under the command of Colonel Alden, whose name it bore. He was unfortunately killed before he could reach the cover of the fort, upon which the enemy opened a heavy fire which lasted for three hours: but finding they could make no impression, they then desisted, and employed themselves until the next day in murdering and scalping the inhabitants of the place.

Before we close the record of events for 1778, it will be proper to call the attention of the reader to our allies, and to some circumstances which grew out of our connexion with them.

We have already seen that Mr. Silas Deane had on many occasions, transcended the powers vested in him by Congress, and that he had in consequence been recalled by that body, in a manner the least offensive to the feelings of Mr. Deane and his friends. On his arrival he was required by Congress to give an account of his transactions in France, and of the state of American affairs in Europe, as well as a particular account of the application of the funds entrusted to his management. Under a pretence that his papers and vouchers had been left behind, (though he must have known when he left France, that it was not the intention of Congress to send him again to that court,) he was unable to give any satisfactory explanation; and thus the affair remained until the 5th December, when an address appeared in the newspapers from Mr. Deane to *the people* of the United States. It was calculated and intended to excite a prejudice in the people against their representatives, and boldly insinuated that it was their intention to break the faith

plighted to their allies. This publication became the subject of debate in Congress, and excited such diversity of opinion and warmth of discussion, that Mr. Laurens was induced to resign his presidency, which was immediately given to John Jay. In the course of the clamour which this affair excited, Thomas Paine again appeared before the publick, under his former signature of "Common Sense." His situation enabled him to bring many things to light, which established almost to demonstration the truth of the suspicion before hinted, that Mr. Deane was to be the partner of Beaumarchais, in the unwarrantable claim which had been made upon the Congress for supplies gratuitously furnished by the French people. Mr. Deane had the art to gain over the most of the army to his side, by seizing occasion to declare his confidence in the Commander in Chief, though his declaration was immediately contradicted by the publication of one of his letters, in which he had strongly recommended that some of the European Generals should be invited to take command of our armies.

Monsieur Gerard, the Minister Plenipotentiary of his most Christian Majesty, to whom Congress had acknowledged the validity of the claim, fearful from the publick situation of Mr. Payne, that his publication was sanctioned by that body, presented a memorial to them on the subject, which produced the following resolution : " Resolved unanimously that the President be directed to assure the said Minister, that the Congress do fully, in the clearest and most explicit manner, disavow the publication referred to in the said memorial ; and as they are convinced by indisputable evidence, that the supplies shipped in the *Amphetrite*, *Seine* and *Mercury*, were *not a present*, and

that his most Christian Majesty, the great and generous ally of these United States, did not preface his alliance with any supplies whatever sent to America, that they have not authorised the writer of the said publication to make any such assertions as are contained therein, but on the contrary do highly disapprove of the same."

This, though it may have been a commendable act, so far as it showed the disposition of Congress to redeem the pledge which had been given to Monsieur Gerard, was carrying the acknowledgment rather beyond the warranty of evidence. Nothing can be said indeed to justify the whole conduct of Congress as it regarded this business, from its first introduction in 1777 to the final rejection of the claim in 1818. Mr. Paine, to whom a hearing in the case had been refused by Congress, resigned his place of Secretary to the foreign committee.

It has been seen that the Count D'Estaing sailed from Boston on the 3d of November for the West Indies, a storm having compelled Admiral Byron of the British fleet to give up his design of offering battle to the Count. It deserves to be remarked as a singular fact, that on the very day that the Count sailed from Boston, a squadron of the enemy's fleet under Commodore Hotham, having under convoy a large number of transports with Major General Grant, and 5000 men, sailed from Sandy Hook, destined also for the West Indies. They had been despatched by Sir Henry Clinton, with a view to protect the English West India islands from the offensive measures which had been pursued by the Marquis de Bouille. The two fleets were for several days pursuing the same course, within a few leagues of each other, mutually ignorant

of each others situation or destination ; but this would probably not long have been the case, but for a violent storm which dispersed the Count's fleet, and otherwise did them considerable damage. This was the third time that Providence seems to have interfered to prevent the meeting of the two hostile fleets. Commodore Hotham was more fortunate with his fleet, which all arrived in safety at Barbadoes on the 10th December, from which an expedition was immediately undertaken against St. Lucia, without suffering the troops to land.

The Count D'Estaing, having some days afterwards arrived at Martinique, heard for the first time of the movements of the enemy, and immediately prepared to go to the succour of the invested island. A considerable addition was made to his force at Martinique ; but the Count was no favourite of the Goddess of fortune. Before his arrival at St. Lucia, all the fortresses on the island were in possession of the enemy ; and after several vain efforts to recover it, and three desperate engagements by sea and land, he was compelled to abandon it to its fate, and draw off his whole force.

It was not until the fall of the present year, that Major Generals Schuyler and St. Clair were brought to trial on the charges alleged against them, for the abandonment of Ticonderoga. They were both acquitted of each and every charge, with the *highest honour*.

With regard to the sentence of the Court Martial passed on Major General Lee, of which we have before taken notice, Congress after a suspense even more cruel and tedious than in the cases of Schuyler and St. Clair, passed a resolution that it should be

carried into execution. In this again we have an example of the singular and unjust effect produced by the mode of voting. The resolution was voted for by *four* states only out of the thirteen, and yet this small *minority* were enabled by their decision to cast a stain upon the military fame and prowess of one of the bravest and best Generals of the age. Two of the states were not represented; and the representatives of five others were so divided as to have no vote.

Thus ended the third year of the struggle for independence, leaving the United States, notwithstanding some brilliant successes, in a situation infinitely more deplorable, than at any time since the first blow was struck. Georgia was in the hands of the enemy; the capital of South Carolina was threatened with a similar fate; rankling jealousies and disputes distracted their councils; their treasury was exhausted; their credit lost, even in the estimation of their best friends; and their illustrious ally beginning to think their demand was too high, when they asked for an acknowledgment of their independence. All the states however, had agreed to the confederation, with the single exception of Maryland; and there were still some determined friends of liberty who were willing to hope all things, and endure all things for the sake of securing that inestimable blessing. Peace was yet viewed through a gloomy vista of doubts and dangers; but there were spirits among the fathers of American freedom, to whom the glimmerings of hope shone amid the gloom, and whose bright examples were destined to lead to the glorious consummation of her promises.

CHAPTER IX.

Events of 1779.—General Lincoln is sent to take command in the southern department.—General Prevost attempts to gain Port Royal, and is repulsed.—Colonel Boyd at the head of the Tories defeated by Colonel Pickens.—Colonel Campbell abandons Augusta.—General Ashe defeated at Briar Creek.—Brave stand of General Elbert.—Lincoln is reinforced and crosses the Savannah.—General Prevost attacks Moultrie, who retreats to Charleston.—Siege of Charleston.—Prevost retires without attacking.—Lincoln arrives at Dorchester—attacks the British van at Stono—is compelled to retreat.—General Prevost establishes a post at Beaufort, and retires to Savannah.—Sir Henry Clinton sends an expedition into the Chesapeake.—They enter Elizabeth River, and destroy the American shipping and stores, and retire to New-York.

SOME time before the expedition for the south, under Colonel Campbell, sailed from New-York, Congress had appointed Major General Lincoln to the command of the southern department. This had been done at the request of the southern representatives who, it seems, had formed a plan for the conquest of the Floridas, and had not sufficient confidence in the talents of General Howe to entrust the enterprise to him. Howe had distinguished himself at a very early period of the revolution, by the noble stand which he had made against the forces of Lord Dunmore, at the head of the Dismal Swamp in Virginia. This raised a party in his favour in the Virginia House of Burgesses, at the expense of his superiour officer, Colonel Patrick Henry, who was then commander in chief of the united forces of Virginia and the Carolinas, which led to the resignation

of the latter, and consequent promotion of the former. He was a brave and enterprising partizan officer, but had neither sufficient talents nor experience to command an army to advantage.

Major General Lincoln, though his military experience extended no further back than the commencement of the revolution, had seen a great deal of hard service, had been successful in several plans that indicated military talents, and was the only general officer on the field of battle on the 19th of September, at Saratoga. Lincoln arrived at Charleston on the 4th of December, where, instead of meeting, as he expected, with an army sufficient to invade the enemy's country, scarcely a man had arrived; nor was it until after he had heard of the landing of Colonel Campbell and the defeat of Howe, that he was enabled to move with a force adequate even to defence. On the 7th of January he established himself at Perrysburg, on the north side of the Savannah, and about 15 miles from the British commander, General Prevost. The remnant of Howe's force, which he met with here, united to his own, made his number about 1400; but he had neither field pieces, arms, tents nor ammunition.

The forces of General Prevost were fortunately scattered over a long line of posts, extending from Savannah to Augusta, with a view to preserve possession of the conquered Province, and there seemed to be no disposition to disturb the arrangements of the American general. By the end of January the arrival of the North Carolina militia under General Ashe increased General Lincoln's force to about 3000 men, and with this number he began to think of offensive operations. General Prevost in the mean time

attempted to make an establishment in South Carolina by the possession of Port-royal Island. For this purpose he detached Colonel Gardner with 200 men, who effected a landing; but being met by General Moultrie, (the brave defender of the fort of his name,) at the head of a like number, he was driven off with considerable loss.

In pursuance of his determination to act offensively, General Lincoln, early in February, sent General Ashe with about 1500 men to take post opposite Augusta, where Colonel Campbell had fixed himself, as the most convenient rendezvous for the Tories and loyalists of the State. Here he had collected a force composed of this denomination of persons to the amount of 2000; the greater part of them were persons of infamous character, who lived chiefly by robbery and plunder. A party of them, with Colonel Boyd at their head, having crossed the Savannah, Colonel Pickens, with about 300 militia collected from the district of 96, followed them, and on the 14th had a desperate engagement with them of three quarters of an hour. Having lost their leader, and about 40 killed, they took to flight in every direction; a few of them were enabled to reach the British posts in safety, but the greater part, being citizens of South Carolina, were apprehended and brought to trial for treason, and five of the ringleaders executed.

This check, together with the threatening attitude which General Lincoln had assumed, induced Colonel Campbell to abandon his position at Augusta on the very night of General Ashe's arrival. In order to prevent if possible his conjunction with Prevost, General Lincoln advised Ashe to cross the river, follow the enemy, and take post at Briar creek. In obe-

dience to this advice, General Ashe crossed with his troops, and on the 28th they were encamped in two divisions under Generals Brian and Elbert, near to the lower bridge on Briar creek. The bridge had been destroyed by Campbell on his march, but even for three days after the arrival of the Americans, no attempt had been made to repair it. The British commander no sooner heard of this movement of Ashe, than he determined upon measures to dislodge him; and in order the better to conceal his real design, and divert the attention of General Lincoln, he made a feint of crossing the river between Ebenezer and Savannah, while Lieutenant Colonel Prevost, who was posted at Hudson's ferry, 13 miles below Briar creek, having made a division of his forces and sent one as if to attack the front of Ashe, made a circuitous march of fifty miles with the other, amounting to about 900 men, with two pieces of artillery, and came in upon Ashe's rear. General Ashe proved wholly incompetent to the charge entrusted to him; he was completely surprised in the weakest part of his camp, and when the enemy appeared on the 3d of March, instead of turning out at the head of his whole force to meet them, he ordered Elbert to sustain the shock with his continentals, amounting to no more than 100 rank and file. This brave officer did not hesitate even with this small number to meet the British light infantry, with whom he engaged for fifteen minutes, while Ashe and his militia stood idly looking on in the rear, without attempting to move to his assistance, until Elbert's men were compelled to give way, when the whole body of them fled in dismay. Thus deserted, Elbert used every exertion to bring his little band a second time to the charge, but by this time they were

completely surrounded, and further resistance was vain. He and the few who survived were taken prisoners. A number of the militia who fled were killed and others overtaken, to the number of more than 300 in the whole. Many of them were drowned in attempting to cross the river, and many others returned to their homes so panick struck, that they never ventured again into the field. Colonel Prevost deservedly gained great credit for the skill and dexterity with which he had managed this enterprise; but he has to thank the negligence and incompetence of the American General for his success. Had Elbert been in the place of Ashe, the result of the day might have been widely different.

Thus were the British secured for the present in their possession of Georgia. The loss of seven pieces of cannon, nearly all their arms and ammunition, and the flight of so large a portion of Ashe's troops, had so much reduced the force and means of General Lincoln, that he was unable for some time to undertake any hostile movement. The election of John Rutledge Esq. about this time to the government of South Carolina, gave an excitement to the republican interest, which soon resulted in important advantages. He was a gentleman of elegant manners, of extensive acquirements, an accomplished orator, and above all he had taken an active part in the earliest measures of independence. He was clothed by the Legislature with extensive powers, and he soon began to exert them for the good of the cause. The militia flocked from all quarters to the American standard, and by the 19th April General Lincoln found himself at the head of 5000 men. With these he determined once more to cross the Savannah, and take such a position as

would intercept the supplies of the enemy from the back parts of Georgia, while at the same time it would enable him to protect the Republican Legislature, then about to convene at Augusta. Leaving one thousand men under General Moultrie, at the Black Swamp and Perrysburg, he commenced his march for Augusta on the 23d of April.

General Prevost almost immediately determined to take advantage of this movement of Lincoln, and penetrate into South Carolina. With this view, having collected a force of more than 3000 men, he crossed the river in several places, and moved towards the posts occupied by Moultrie. They traversed swamps that had been deemed by the Americans impassable, and appeared so unexpectedly, that Moultrie's militia made but a feeble resistance and retreated towards Charleston. Emboldened by this success, the British General, with the advice and concurrence of his officers, determined to push his advantages as far as the capital of South Carolina. He moved on, therefore, in pursuit of Moultrie's militia, a part of which had been left under Colonel Laurens at Coosawhatchie bridge, while Moultrie himself took post at Tullifinny bridge. Laurens defended the pass with great spirit for some time, but being himself wounded, and his troops having suffered considerably, he was at length obliged to join General Moultrie. Captain Shubrick, his second in command, conducted the retreat of Laurens's corps with great order and caution.

General Moultrie's force in the mean time suffered daily diminution by the desertion of his militia, who could on no consideration be induced to pass their homes without stopping to take care of their private affairs. General Lincoln received intelligence of the

movements of the enemy, but judging that his object (which in reality it had been at first,) was a mere feint to draw him back from the capital of Georgia, contented himself with sending Colonel Harris with about 300 continentals to the relief of Moultrie, and continued his march for three days longer. Being at length, however, convinced that the British General intended a serious operation against Charleston, Lincoln turned to the right about and recrossed the river.

Colonel Harris, with his 300 continentals, having for four successive days marched near fifty miles a day, reached Charleston as soon as Moultrie, and fortunately before the British army had crossed Ashley river. This dilatory movement of Prevost saved the city; for if he had continued his march with the same rapidity, after he had determined to convert his feint into a real operation, as he had moved at first, he must have arrived at Charleston before any part of the American forces could have entered it, and the town must have fallen. Pulaski's light legion had been sent on by General Lincoln, as soon as he himself had taken the retrograde motion, and these with a part of Moultrie's militia, made repeated stands on the retreat, and a few slight skirmishes ensued, which only served the more strongly to convince Prevost of the facility with which he could accomplish his object.

During the movements of the two armies, Governor Rutledge had established himself with the reserve militia at Orangeburg, considerably on Prevost's left, and though in a situation from which he could conveniently detach his troops to any post at which they might be wanted, he was too far off to have afforded any aid to General Moultrie, but for the delay of two days which Prevost made on his march. This suffic-

ed for him to gain Charleston in time, and he entered with his militia on the 10th May, the day after General Moultrie and Colonel Harris had taken their stations in the town. On the 11th Pulaski arrived with his legion; and on the same day, 900 of Prevost's army crossed the ferry of Ashley river, and moved towards the town. Pulaski had scarcely taken his post within the town, when the enemy appeared, and with a view to lead them into an ambuscade, he marched out with a single company and stationed them behind a small breast work in a valley; leaving these with orders to remain concealed, he advanced a mile beyond them, and placing himself at the head of a small party of horse, attacked the British cavalry. His object was after a slight skirmish to draw the cavalry after him into the reach of his concealed infantry; but the latter with an ardour which could not be restrained, had in the mean time marched out from behind their breast work to join the attack; the consequence was that, being very inferior in numbers to the British, they were compelled to retreat. Pulaski, one of the bravest officers that ever drew a sword, entered several times during the day into single combat with individuals of the enemy. His intrepidity was not lost upon the soldiers or officers: it served to excite them to noble emulation; and in several skirmishes which occurred during the day and succeeding night, they showed a courage and coolness which did honour to their brave exemplar. In the course of one of the night skirmishes, Major Huger, an officer greatly esteemed by his countrymen, was unfortunately killed.

Those within the town had, in the mean time, diligently employed every moment of Prevost's extraor-

dinary and unaccountable delay, in strengthening as far as possible their defences. Every individual of the city, old and young, male and female, bore a part in the labours of the day. On the 12th General Prevost summoned the town to surrender, upon what were considered favourable conditions; but they were not such as the besieged thought proper to accept, and the day was spent in negotiation. Thus was still further time allowed for improving the means of defence. On the 13th, it was deemed advisable by the civil authority to propose a *neutrality* for the whole state, to continue during the war, and to depend for its conditions upon the peace. This offer, advantageous as it was, was rejected by General Prevost, and an immediate assault was expected; but to the utter astonishment of the whole army, the besiegers moved off during the night, and before the morning of the 14th, had recrossed Ashley river.

So singular a circumstance has perhaps never occurred in history, as the rejection of the neutrality offered by Charleston to General Prevost. The advantage to the British cause would have been greater than the mere surrender of the city upon any terms. Already in possession of Georgia, by thus securing the neutrality of the adjoining state, they would have compelled General Lincoln to withdraw his army, and have forced Congress to the necessity either of greatly weakening the main army in the north, or of abandoning the south to its fate. It is still more extraordinary, that at the very moment General Prevost rejected the proposal, instead of still further carrying on the negotiation, or at once commencing his attack, he should quietly and secretly decamp without an effort. It is ridiculous to allege that he was disappoint-

ed in his expectations from the loyalty of the people. He could hardly have hoped for a more quiet march through the country than that by which he arrived at Charleston; nor was it possible that he could have anticipated better terms than those that were offered to him by the besieged. It was no excuse for him, that General Lincoln was in his rear: he knew this when he undertook the enterprise; and he had abundant time, if he had used the moments of negotiation in preparations for attack, to have accomplished his object before the approach of Lincoln. Whatever were his motives, General Prevost precipitately raised the siege on the night of the 13th, and had scarcely crossed the river, when General Lincoln reached Dorchester. After resting a few days in camp on the south side of the river, General Prevost continued his retreat, taking possession of the various little islands that are situated at the mouth of Charleston harbour. Here he waited until the arrival of supplies enabled him to proceed southward. His first object was to gain possession of the island of Port Royal, which not only offered eligible quarters for his troops during the approaching hot and sickly season, but secured to him a footing in South Carolina, in a strong position. Lieutenant Colonel Prevost with the van of Prevost's army was posted at the ferry on Stono inlet—his force consisted of Hessians, Carolina refugees, and one battalion of the 71st, amounting to about 1500 men. The natural strength of his position had been increased by several redoubts with an abbatis, and some heavy artillery. He was, however, out of the reach of reinforcements except by a bridge of boats, which afforded a doubtful and limited conveyance.

General Lincoln, in the mean time, desirous of annoying the retreating army of his adversary as much as possible, broke up his encampment at Dorchester on the 4th of June, and moved towards Stono ferry. The apparent strength of the enemy's position, however, determined him to delay an attack, until something should turn up to his advantage; and this occurred in about a fortnight afterwards. Lieutenant Colonel Prevost was detached to Savannah with a part of the forces, and their transportation made it necessary to break up the bridge of boats. Lieutenant Colonel Maitland was now left at the ferry with about 600 men; and General Lincoln determined upon making his attack. To divert the attention of Prevost from his design, he directed General Moultrie with the militia from Charleston to take possession of James' Island, and John's Island, while he himself advanced on the 20th to the attack, the North Carolina militia under Brigadier General Butler on his right, and the continentals under General Sumner on his left; Colonel Malmedy and Lieutenant Colonel Henderson covered the flanks with light troops, while the cavalry and Virginia militia under General Mason formed the reserve. This order of battle was such as to do great honour to the military skill of General Lincoln; for instead of placing, as was usual, his best troops on the right, thereby exposing them to the weakest wing of his adversary, he brought his regulars into combat with the Highlanders, who composed the right of Colonel Maitland. General Lincoln's approach being announced by the enemy's pickets, two companies of the 71st came out to their support. These being charged by the light flanking companies under Lieu-

tenant Colonel Henderson, in close action, and with great vigour, were forced to retreat with very considerable loss, only nine of them having got safely within their lines. Encouraged by this success, Lincoln moved on with ardour to the enemy's intrenchments, giving positive orders that their fire should not be returned, but that the contest should depend wholly on the bayonet. The enemy suffered Lincoln's troops to advance within sixty yards of the abbatis, where a tremendous fire from their artillery and small arms was opened upon them. In despite of General Lincoln's orders, this fire was returned, and a warm and vigorous action continued for an hour and an half, during which the Americans obtained a manifest advantage. But General Moultrie having failed to make the contemplated diversion on John's Island, General Prevost was enabled at the critical moment of the action to send a considerable reinforcement to the aid of Lieutenant Colonel Maitland: the whole garrison immediately sallied out; Lincoln renewed the charge with increased vigour, drove back the enemy's left, and having succeeded in stopping the fire of his troops, was bravely pushing on with the bayonet, when the enemy's reinforcements appeared. This compelled him to change his determination, and order an immediate retreat. Some confusion necessarily ensued, of which Maitland took advantage, advancing with his whole force upon the retreating army. The American cavalry were now ordered up to the charge, but having executed one or two movements with great gallantry, they were forced to give way, when Mason's Virginia brigade moved up and covered the retreat in the most handsome style.

General Lincoln's loss in this action amounted to about 300 killed, wounded and missing; among the killed were several officers of high rank, and much respected. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded was about 170. The action was bravely fought on both sides; and had not the failure of General Moultrie, on the one hand, and the disobedience of orders in returning the fire of the enemy, on the other, deranged the whole plan of General Lincoln, his success would have been certain. Prevost retired immediately after this battle to Savannah, leaving a part of his forces under Lieutenant Colonel Maitland at Beaufort in the island of Port Royal.

The inhabitants of South Carolina suffered immense losses by the enemy during their invasion of the state. Upwards of 3,000 slaves were carried off by them and sold in the West Indies; and scarcely a plantation within their reach escaped pillage and devastation. The British, however, are not wholly chargeable with this unwarrantable plunder of private property. To the tories and refugees who had joined their army, the greater part of the depredations committed must be ascribed.

While these things were going on in South Carolina and Georgia, Sir Henry Clinton, under the hope of effectually destroying all resistance in the south, planned an expedition, with the advice of Sir George Collier, who now commanded the British naval force at New-York, against Virginia. Two thousand troops for this purpose were placed under the command of Brigadier General Matthews, and conducted by Sir George Collier himself, the fleet sailed from New-York on the 5th of May, and anchored in Hampton Roads on the 9th, on the 10th, Sir George

having shifted his flag to one of the frigates, left the heavy ships in the roads, and proceeded with the smaller ships and transports into Elizabeth river. The principal defence of this river was a small fort on the west side, called fort Nelson, completely exposed to a land attack, and calculated only to defend the channel of the river. This fort was garrisoned by about 150 men under Major Matthews; and the enemy's troops having landed three miles below the fort, there was nothing to prevent their carrying the fort by storm. The Major, therefore, rightly judging this to be the intention of the enemy, very prudently evacuated the fort during the night of the 10th, and escaped with his little garrison to the Great Swamp. Thus was a free passage left both by land and water to the British forces, which moved up on the morning of the 11th, and took possession of the desolated town of Norfolk, and of Portsmouth, at the latter of which Brigadier General Matthews established his head quarters. From this place detachments were sent to Gosport, Suffolk, and the neighbouring places, where considerable destruction was made of vessels, provisions, and naval stores.

The enemy remained in the Elizabeth river only about two weeks, but during that short period they destroyed and carried off upwards of 3000 hogsheads of tobacco, 130 vessels of various denominations, and an immense quantity of stores. Nor was their destruction confined to publick property: almost every house in Suffolk was burned, and every dwelling on their various routes shared the same fate; and before any force could be collected to send against them, they had left the Chesapeake and returned to New York. The royalists had made such representations to Sir

George Collier of the desire of the Virginians to return to their allegiance, that he endeavoured to persuade Sir Henry Clinton to maintain a force at Portsmouth for the purpose of serving as a rallying point to the tories and disaffected Americans, but Sir Henry very wisely determined to withdraw his troops, knowing that at such a distance from succour, a small reverse of fortune, would throw him into the power of the enemy.

Let us now for a time take a view of the movements of the armies in the North.

CHAPTER X.

Events of 1779 continued.—Sir Henry Clinton sends an expedition up the Hudson—Takes Stony Point, and Fort La Fayette.—Gallant attack and recapture of Stony Point, by General Wayne.—Surprise of the British garrison at Powle's Hook.—Expedition of Governour Tryon against the Coast of Connecticut.—Destruction of the towns of Fairfield and Norwalk.—Unexampled enormities of the British army—Tryon is recalled by Sir Henry Clinton.—Massachusetts expedition against Penobscot.—Proceedings of Congress—Report of the Committee of Foreign Affairs.—Decease of Colonel Trumbull.—Washington is empowered to draw on the Treasurer.—Instructions to Dr. Franklin—Conference with M. Gerard—His ideas on the prospect of peace—Retaliatory resolutions.—Thanks voted to Washington, Wayne, and other officers.—Distribution of money to the troops of General Wayne.

By the time Sir George Collier had returned from the Chesapeake, Sir Henry Clinton had planned another expedition against the American fortresses on the Hudson. The command of this river had always been considered by both parties as highly important, and Washington had employed the opportunity which the cessation of active operations on the part of Sir Henry had allowed him, in constructing several works, particularly at Verplank's, and at Stony Point. His army lay at Middle Brook, in Jersey, and these posts were garrisoned by a small number of men chiefly artificers and labourers. Major General Vaughan, the former despoiler of the beautiful banks of the Hudson, was again chosen to command this expedition, which embarked under the convoy of Sir George Collier, on the 30th of May. On the 31st General Vaug-

han, with the main body of the army, landed on the east side of the river, a few miles below Verplank's; General Pattison, accompanied by Sir Henry Clinton himself, advanced with the remainder of the army to within three miles of Stony Point, and landed on the west side. The garrison at this place withdrew on the approach of the enemy, and made some show of resistance by drawing up on the hills above, but retired without giving battle. Opposite to Stony Point the Americans had constructed a small fort, which they had named after the gallant Marquis de la Fayette. It was a single redoubt, mounted with 4 pieces of artillery, and manned by about 70 men. The approach to it from its own side was almost impracticable, but it was completely commanded by Stony Point, and General Pattison prepared for a vigorous bombardment of it, by drawing up his heavy artillery in the night, from his landing place, and fixing them on the commanding rocks of Stony Point.

On the 1st of June a tremendous fire from cannon and mortars was opened upon the little fort la Fayette, by 5 o'clock in the morning, while Sir George Collier advanced with his gallies and gunboats to the support of the attack, sending some of them above the fort, in order to prevent the escape of the garrison by water. General Vaughan had in the mean time by a circuitous route, gained the summits of the hills on the side of the fort, thus investing it on all sides. After sustaining a continued storm of fire for the whole day, this brave band surrendered prisoners of war. Sir Henry Clinton leaving a strong force to garrison these two posts, with orders to place Stony Point in the strongest possible state of defence, moved with the army and shipping to Phillipsburg, which complete-

ly blockaded the navigation of the river, and rendered the intercourse between the people of Jersey and those east of the Hudson, extremely hazardous as well as circuitous.

These movements of the enemy led Washington to suspect a design of attacking West Point, for the protection of which he moved with his army from Middlebrook, and took post on the high grounds above Verplank's and Stony Point. In this situation an enterprise was planned for the recapture of the latter post, which had been considerably strengthened by the enemy, and was now garrisoned by the 17th regiment of infantry, the grenadiers of the 71st, a company of tories, and a company of artillery, the whole under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Johnson. The enterprise was entrusted to the command of General Wayne, who marched from Sandybeach, a distance of 14 miles from the object of attack, on the 15th July at noon, with the choicest troops of the army. The road traversed numerous, difficult and dangerous defiles and morasses, which so retarded the march, that it was 8 o'clock in the evening when the van arrived within a mile and a half of the point. Here Wayne halted for the rest of the army, and employed the delay in reconnoitering the enemy's works. The troops were formed into two columns as they came up, and at half past 11 o'clock the whole advanced to the attack. General Wayne had determined to depend upon the bayonet alone, and the advance were therefore not even permitted to load their muskets. Lieutenant Colonel Fleury, at the head of 150 men, led the van of the right column, and Major Stewart that of the left, with a like number of picked troops, all with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. The van of each co-

lumn was preceded by an avant-guard, or forlorn hope, of 20 men each, under Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, two young officers chosen for their undaunted valour. These were intended to remove the abbatis and other obstructions that might impede the march of the attacking columns; and both officers fortunately escaped unhurt, though each of them lost more than three fourths of their brave followers.

The natural difficulties in the approach to this post were at this moment considerably increased by the overflowing of the tide, which completely covered the deep morass that surrounded the works. The two attacking columns, however, moved on to different points, in spite of every obstacle, and in the face of an incessant fire from the enemy's cannon and musketry, driving every thing before them at the point of the bayonet, until they met in the centre of the works. General Wayne, who had placed himself at the head of the right division, received a slight wound in the head from a musket ball, just as he had passed the last abbatis, but bravely insisted upon being carried on, that if it were his lot to die, he might breathe his last in the enemy's fort. He was supported through the fire by his two gallant Aids de Camp, Fishbourn and Archer. Lieutenant Colonel Fleury, who led the van of the right column, a young French officer who had on many previous occasions greatly distinguished himself, was the first to fly to the enemy's standard, which he struck with his own hand.

By this most brilliant enterprise, two flags, two standards, 15 pieces of ordnance, and a large quantity of military stores fell into the hands of the Americans, besides 543 prisoners. Of the assailants 98 were killed and wounded, of the enemy 63 were kill-

ed, among whom were several of their bravest and most meritorious officers.

At the same time that General Wayne moved against Stony Point, General Robert Howe, (who, on the arrival of General Lincoln in the South, had joined the army under Washington,) was despatched against the opposite post of Verplank's; but owing to various unavoidable delays, he was unable to come up with his force, until Sir Henry Clinton had moved with large reinforcements to its assistance. On the morning after Wayne had gained possession of Stony Point, he turned the artillery against Verplank's, and kept up so warm a cannonade, that the enemy's shipping were obliged to cut their cables and fall down the river. Had General Howe been enabled at this moment to have approached the fort on the land side, it must have fallen into his hands.

Washington's force being too weak to admit of his leaving a sufficient garrison for the protection of Stony Point, it had been determined in Council, previous to the attack, that in the event of its being successful, the works should be destroyed and abandoned. This was accordingly done, after holding possession of it for three days: the artillery and stores were removed, the works demolished, and the post evacuated; so that when Sir Henry Clinton arrived with his whole land and naval force, he found none to dispute his taking possession. Thus did this post three times change masters in little more than a month. Sir Henry gave orders once more to repair the works, and left a strong garrison for its defence.

About the same time another daring and brilliant enterprise was undertaken, for the surprise of the British garrison at Powle's Hook, the execution of which

was entrusted to Major Lee. On the morning of the 19th July, before day light, he proceeded with a detachment consisting of 300 Virginians, one company of the Maryland line, and a small party of dismounted dragoons, and succeeded in completely surprising the garrison commanded by Major Southerland. The Major, however, had the good fortune to escape with a party of his Hessians, to a small block house on the left of the fort, from which he opened an immediate fire upon the assailants, and the retreat of Lee was called by the enemy a cowardly abandonment of his design at the moment when victory was within his grasp. But Lee's object was entirely accomplished ; his orders were positive to effect an immediate retreat, which the near vicinity of the enemy's main body rendered all important, and this he did after killing 30 of the enemy and taking 161 prisoners, with the trifling loss of six or seven of his own men killed and wounded.

Early in July a marauding expedition had been planned by Sir Henry Clinton, against the exposed parts of Connecticut bordering on the Sound, in pursuance, as it is believed, of express orders from his government, who still listening rather to the heated representations of tories, than to the advice of their own generals, persisted in giving a character of waste and rapine to the war, unheard of before among civilized nations. An immediate apology for the expedition was found in the number of small American cruizers, chiefly whale boats, which somewhat interrupted the trade of the enemy through the Sound. A land force of 2600 men, under Governour Tryon and Brigadier General Garth, was embarked on board the fleet for this *honourable* service, and landed at New-

haven on the 5th of July. Their landing was preceded by an address to the inhabitants of Connecticut, signed by both commanders, in which they invited them to return to their *allegiance*, and in the usual cant of royal proclamations, promised protection to the persons and property of all who should remain peaceably at their homes, with the exception of the civil and military officers of the government. They dwelt, with unexampled insolence, upon the *lenity* which the people had experienced from his Majesty's officers, and the *ungrateful* return which had been made for it, adding: "that the existence of a single house on their coast, ought to be a constant reproof of their ingratitude—that they who lay so much in the British power, afforded a striking monument of their *mercy*, and therefore ought to set the first example of returning to their allegiance." It was hardly possible for this mercy-promising address to have been read by a dozen of the inhabitants, before the writers themselves appeared, with the sword and brand of desolation. A faint resistance was made by the militia and neighbouring inhabitants, but they were unable to stand against the superiour force and discipline of their invaders, and the town was abandoned to the savage pleasure of the foe. Property that could not be carried off was wantonly wasted and destroyed. Beds were ripped open and the feathers scattered along the shore. An infirm old citizen had his *tongue cut out* by one of these royal blood hounds, who ceased not to commit every species of enormity, until seizing upon the liquors of some of the West India stores, they made themselves incapable, by intoxication, of further acts of barbarity, and retreated in disorder early the next morning, on the appearance of a few has-

tily collected militia. Thus did the town escape the conflagration at first intended, with the exception of a few store houses which they had time to fire on their retreat. These marauders were under the command of Brigadier General Garth, whose fame is only surpassed by that of his colleague in this expedition, whose exploits we shall now relate.

Governour Tryon landed with his portion of the command at Easthaven, and while his compeer was marching to Newhaven, he was employed in burning the town he had entered, and killing the cattle in the fields ; not for the sake of their flesh, but for the gratification of a wanton appetite for cruelty. He was, however, in the course of a few hours, compelled to retreat on board his fleet, to which he was closely pressed by the militia, rendered desperate by such acts of cruelty and rapine. In the evening he weighed anchor and sailed for Fairfield, where a wider field was opened to him for the display of his loyalty to the King his master. Here another scene of duplicity was practised with a view no doubt to prevent resistance. On his approach to the town a flag was sent to Colonel Whiting, who commanded the militia, with a copy of the *address* to the inhabitants, and one hour was allowed him to decide what course he would pursue ; but, as at Easthaven and Newhaven, before Colonel Whiting had well time to read the address, Fairfield was in flames. Colonel Whiting, however, while the flames were rising before him, sent the following defiance to his unprincipled foe. “ Connecticut having nobly dared to take up arms against the cruel despotism of Great Britain, and the *flames having preceded the answer to your flag*, they will persist to oppose to the utmost, the power exerted against injured

innocence." Tryon landed his troops on the afternoon of the 7th. The militia made but a slight resistance, and the town was evacuated by all its inhabitants except a few females, who, vainly imagining that their *sex* would secure them against ill treatment from the soldiers of a *British* army, remained behind with the hope of saving some of their property. But neither themselves nor their property could be safe from such an enemy; the deserted houses were entered; desks, trunks, and closets were broken open and rifled of their contents; the women, with bayonets pointed at their breasts, were robbed of their dresses and ornaments; the clothing of an *infant* was stripped from it while the struggling mother was prevented from protecting it, by the bayonet's point. Having satiated themselves with plunder, they commenced the work of conflagration. In vain the distracted females knelt in supplication to the monster Tryon, to spare their only places of shelter: the work of destruction went on, and the night was spent in shrieks of despair on one side, and shouts of hellish exultation on the other. The devastation extended for two miles round, and ceased not until the appearance of the militia in considerable force, on the morning of the 8th, drove the perpetrators to their ships.

From Fairfield Governour Tryon bent his course to Norwalk, and there committed similar acts of barbarity and plunder. The destruction at Norwalk was even greater than that at Fairfield, for besides the houses and their contents, a large quantity of shipping, of whale boats, and of other small craft, was totally destroyed. It is difficult to say how far Tryon would have carried his hatred of the American cause, had he not been suddenly recalled by Sir Henry Clinton,

in the midst of his desolating career. Sir Henry Clinton has been applauded by some historians for this order of recall, on the presumption that he disapproved of the universal ruin which marked the footsteps of the expedition, and that Tryon had exceeded his instructions, in the work of desolation; but his troops were at this time wanted on the expedition up the Hudson just related; the movements of Washington about this time made it prudent for him to concentrate his forces: this it was, and no feeling of remorse at having too strictly executed the orders of the Ministry, that produced the recall of Tryon.

The black list of desolation committed by Governour Tryon in this expedition, as afterwards ascertained by Congress, presented the following melancholy result—at Fairfield, 2 houses of *publick worship*, 82 dwelling houses, 55 barns, 30 storehouses and shops—at Norwalk, 2 houses of *publick worship*, 80 dwelling houses, 87 barns, 39 storehouses and shops, 4 mills and a quantity of shipping, finished and on the stocks. The houses and stores burnt at East Haven and New Haven, were not included in the list. In the skirmishes of the militia at these several places, a few lives were lost on both sides. The avowed object of the expedition, namely the destruction of the privateers and cruizers of the Sound, was entirely overlooked, or not accomplished, for within a few days after the expedition, two of the royal sloops of war fell into their hands. Governour Tryon, so far from feeling any compunctious visitings of conscience at the enormity of his conduct, endeavoured to justify it on the principle of *policy*!—Policy, at the moment of addressing an *invitation* to the inhabitants to return to their *duty* and *allegiance*, and before it was possible

for them to make reply, to visit them with the sword and firebrand! In his letter to Sir Henry Clinton, this loyal Governour said that "he should be very sorry, if it was thought less reconcileable with *humanity* than with the love of his country, duty to the King, and the law of arms, to which America had been led to make the awful appeal: that the *usurpers* had professedly placed their hopes of severing the empire, in *avoiding decisive actions*, upon the waste of the British treasure, and the escape of their own property, during the protracting of the war:—that their power was supported by the general dread of their tyranny, and the arts practised to inspire a credulous multitude, with a presumptuous confidence in the forbearance of the royal forces:—and, that he wished to *detect this delusion*, and if possible, without injury to the loyalists." These were the false, flimsy prettexts, under which Major General Tryon sought to shelter himself from the charge of inhumanity. Posterity will be at a loss to learn by what possible system of morality, he could reconcile his conduct with humanity, or with the law of arms, or how his "love of country" could prompt him to spurn from his feet the supplicating females of Fairfield, and lay their only shelter in ashes before their streaming eyes. He knew it to be false that the Americans had placed their hopes "in avoiding decisive actions," for the proofs of Saratoga, of Brandywine, of Germantown, of Bennington, of Charleston, and many other places, were before him. He knew it to be false, that the power of Congress was supported by the general "dread of their tyranny;" for he had seen repeated proofs, that the people so little feared the exercise of their power, as to bid defiance to them whenever inclination or interest

led them to abandon their cause. If the people had ever laboured under the *delusive* hope of "forbearance in the royal forces," that delusion had been so long before removed by repeated acts of savage cruelty and oppression, that there wanted not *his* unexampled enormities to undeceive the "credulous multitude."

About this time an expedition was undertaken by the state authorities of Massachusetts, without the concurrence or assistance of the general government, against a British post which had been established in the course of the summer, on the Penobscot. Colonel Maclean had been despatched from Halifax, with a detachment of about 700 men, with a view to harrass and break up the new settlements which had been formed by the people of Massachusetts, on the borders of Nova Scotia. He arrived in Penobscot Bay, under convoy of three sloops of war, about the middle of June, and landed on a small peninsula, where he commenced the construction of a fort. Intelligence of this transaction being received at Boston, the state government immediately determined upon fitting out an armament to expel him. An embargo was laid upon all the shipping in the harbour, and a fleet consisting in the whole of thirty-seven sail, was soon in readiness for the enterprise, under the command of Captain Saltonstall of the continental frigate Warren. A considerable body of troops was likewise embarked on board the fleet, under the command of General Lovell. On the 25th of July, they arrived within cannonading distance of the enemy's works on the peninsula, and commenced their fire. It was warmly returned by the ships of war, and a battery of four 12 pounders which had been thrown

up on the bank of the river, and the assailants in a short time retired to the west end of the peninsula and came to anchor. They made an attempt in the course of the night to land, but were repulsed by the enemy's pickets. The cannonade upon the shipping was renewed on the 26th with no better success, and their attempts to land were equally fruitless until the morning of the 28th, when it was effected, and the enemy's pickets driven into the fort. Within a few days after their landing, the Americans had constructed two batteries, about the distance of seven hundred yards from the enemy, from which they opened a fire upon the fort, but without seeming to produce any impression. Another battery was also erected upon a small island at the entrance of the harbour, which soon compelled the shipping to retire further up the river. From these three batteries a constant fire was kept up for nearly a fortnight, during all which time the enemy so far from finding any annoyance, was enabled to persevere in completing his works of defence. General Lovell finding that this distant mode of assault was an useless expensiture of time and ammunition, determined upon making an attempt to carry the fort by storm; but the unexpected appearance of Sir George Collier with the British fleet, on the morning of the 14th of August, compelled him to abandon his design and make a hasty retreat. Captain Saltonstall upon the appearance of the British Fleet drew up his ships across the river, as if to dispute the passage, that he might allow time for the transports to escape and land the troops some distance up the river. It would have been madness in the American commander, with his squadron of sloops and schooners, to have engaged

a British fleet of eight large frigates and a ship of the line ; but with proper management, and the exercise of any thing like naval skill, it was certainly in his power to have made his flight less disgraceful. The ships were all abandoned and blown up, with the exception of two which fell into the enemy's hands. Thus did this expedition terminate with the loss of nearly the whole naval force of Massachusetts, amounting to nineteen armed vessels of from 12 to 32 guns, besides the destruction of 24 sail of transports. Let us now turn our attention to the proceedings of Congress.

The negotiations of Monsieur Gerard were a subject of inexplicable mystery to many of the friends of American independence. They had more reasons than one to believe that the active part which his most Christian Majesty had taken, had arisen from motives of political interest which might in the end greatly interfere with the independence of the States. Mr. Gerard had repeatedly manifested a desire that the demands of Congress might not be so *unreasonable* as unnecessarily to prolong the war ; but having received new instructions from his court he requested a private audience, which Congress granted him on the 15th of February. The subjects which he laid before them may be gathered from the following report of the committee of the whole, made on the 23d.—“Upon the consideration of all the matters referred to them, the committee are of opinion, that his *Catholic Majesty* is disposed to enter into an alliance with the United States of America ; that he hath manifested this disposition in a decisive declaration, lately made to the Court of Great Britain ; that in consequence of such declaration, the independence of these United States

must be finally acknowledged by Great Britain, and immediately thereon a negotiation for peace will be set on foot, between the powers of France, Great Britain, and these United States, under the mediation of his Catholic Majesty : or that Spain will take part in the war, and his Catholic Majesty will unite his force with the most Christian King and the United States ; and, that in order to be in readiness for a negotiation, the Ministers of the United States ought to be instructed by Congress on the several following particulars, viz: 1st, what to insist upon as the ultimatum of these States ; 2d, what to yield or require on terms of mutual exchange and compensation." This report was again taken up by the house on the 19th of March, when they agreed upon what should be the bounds of the thirteen States, in their ultimatum, and determined as the groundwork of peace, " that every port and place within the United States, and every island, harbour or road, to them or any of them belonging, should be absolutely evacuated by the land and sea forces of his Britannick Majesty and yielded to the powers of the State to which they respectively belong."

On the 24th of February, Congress received the gratifying intelligence, that the King of Naples had opened his ports to the flag of the United States.

On the 30th of March, having received an account of the death of Colonel Joseph Trumbull whose disease was supposed to have been brought on by his mental disquietude occasioned by the measures of Congress with regard to the Commissariat, a conviction of his worth and eminent services, and a feeling of remorse at their ungenerous conduct towards him, induced them to pass a resolution approbatory of all

his conduct, and granting certain allowances to his surviving family.

On the 27th of April permission was given to the Commander in Chief to draw upon the Treasurer for the sum of two thousand guineas, to be used at his discretion for the purposes of secret service. It was the good fortune of Washington to meet with the most faithful agents for this service. His confidential correspondents were known only to himself, and so vigilant and faithful were they in the discharge of the trust reposed in them, that not the slightest suspicion of their real character was ever raised in the minds of the enemy, with many of the most respectable of whom they formed the closest intimacy. One of his spies in New York had well nigh suffered very serious personal injury, from the firmness with which he supported his assumed character of a tory; but nothing could induce him to reveal his secret connexion with the American commander.

The low state of the publick treasury made it necessary for Congress to depend almost entirely upon the resources of their ally and the personal credit of their minister at the court of France. On the 10th of June, bills to the amount of 360,000 *livres tournois*, were drawn upon Dr. Franklin by the President of Congress, and a resolution was at the same time passed, "that the faith of the United States be pledged to make good any contract or engagement, which shall be entered into by their Minister Plenipotentiary at the court of France, for procuring money or credit to enable him to honour the said bills, and provide for their punctual discharge." In addition to this, they determined upon borrowing *twenty mil-*

tions of *continental* dollars at an interest of six per cent.

The instances of malpractice in the medical department of the army had been so frequent and glaring, that when at last a Physician General was found to perform his duty, Congress thought it necessary to publish a resolution, expressing their satisfaction at his conduct. This was done on the 14th of June, in favour of Doctor John Morgan. On the same day they wrote a congratulatory letter to his most Christian Majesty, on the birth of a Princess, and solicited from him portraits of himself and his royal consort, to be placed in the Representatives' chamber as a continual memorial of "the first royal friends and patrons of their cause."

In a conference which the French Minister held with Congress on the 12th of July, he presented a paper to which according to the usages of the courts of Europe he said he had appropriated the term of *ad statum legendi*. It was a simple message from his court, delivered in writing, the substance of which was as follows: 1. The king had approved the measures pursued by his minister respecting the claims of Beaumarchais, and would furnish a guide to Congress, by which they might distinguish between supplies furnished by that gentleman in the way of trade, and those which had been furnished out of the royal magazines; for the latter of which the king was content to wait the convenience of Congress for payment. 2. The king consented to the desire expressed by Congress to recruit for their ships among the English prisoners in France, requiring only that it should be managed with proper prudence and precaution. 3. The French court expressed great satis-

faction at the substitution by Congress of one Minister Plenipotentiary for the several commissioners previously entrusted with their concerns ; and added, that the character of Dr. Franklin would invite a fuller confidence than had been heretofore given.

4. The court of France were much pleased by the prompt disavowal by Congress of the doctrine relating to the mutual obligation of the allies to conclude no truce nor peace without the knowledge and consent of each other. It was added by the minister, that Congress had by this step, raised the highest confidence of his master in their candour and faithfulness, and had given him the fullest hope that no interpretation or construction would be put upon the treaty which could endanger their mutual confidence.

5. The court were somewhat surprised at the intelligence that Congress had published the treaties with it, without the knowledge or consent of the interested party ; but the king at the same time disclaimed all idea of reproach, regarding it as an evidence of a noble and generous system of politicks, which though contrary to the general practice of courts and nations, had happily been attended with beneficial results to the common cause ; inasmuch as it had convinced the American people and the world that France had not been actuated by any selfish or interested motive in the alliance, but had been solely governed by a desire to secure independence to the United States. 6. His Majesty was greatly concerned that the situation of affairs in the United States had been inadequate to the great exertions necessary to cope with their enemy ; stated his impression that England would never willingly evacuate New-York, or be brought to think of granting independence to the United

States, without exertions on their past correspondent with those which his majesty was making in their behalf. 7th and lastly, the Minister was authorised to tell Congress in confidence, that from the turn which the negociation had taken with Spain there was but little hope that the Court of London, willing as they were to a reconciliation with France, would ever consent to make a formal and explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the United States; and that peace was not to be looked for until Congress would be satisfied with a *tacit* acknowledgment of sovereignty, which the minister laboured to prove to them, was a difference only in the *formale*, involving none of the rights of sovereignty or independence. Monsieur Gerard thus concluded his message and remarks.

“ In thus executing the orders I have received, I cannot omit observing that these orders were given with the full presumption, that the business which I laid before Congress in February last, would have been settled long before these despatches should come to my hands. However sensibly my court will be disappointed in her expectations, I shall add nothing to the information and observations, which with the warmest zeal for the interest and honour of both countries, and by the duties of my office and instructions, I found myself bound to deliver from time to time to Congress, in the course of this business. The apprehensions of giving new matter to those who endeavour to cast blame upon Congress, is a new motive for me to remain silent. I beg only to remind this honourable body of the aforesaid information and reflections, and particularly to those which I had the honour to deliver to an assembly similar to the present. I shall only insist on a single point, which I established

then, and since in one of my memorials, namely, the manifest and striking necessity of enabling Spain, by the determination of just and moderate terms, to press upon England with her good offices, and to bring her mediation to an issue, in order that we may know whether we are to expect peace or war. This step is looked upon in Europe as immediately necessary. It was the proper object of the message I delivered in February last. I established then (in a private audience) the strong reasons which require, that at the same time and without delay, proper terms should be offered to his Catholic Majesty, in order to reconcile him perfectly to the American contest. I did not conceal that it was to be feared, that any condition inconsistent with the establishment of the alliance, which is the binding and only law of the allies, and contrary to the line of conduct which Spain pursued, in the course of her mediation, would lead her to drop the mediation, and prevent his Catholic Majesty, by motives of honour and faithfulness, from joining in our common cause, and for completing the intended triumvirate.—No loss, no unhappy event, could be so heavy upon the allies as this. Indeed, although the British forces are already kept in check by the combined efforts of France and America, it is nevertheless evident, that the accession of Spain only can give to the alliance a decided superiority, adequate to our purposes, and free us from the fatal chance, that a single unlucky event may overturn the balance.”

Congress had listened with such perfect reliance to the hopes of peace held out in the mediation of Spain, in the early part of the year, that they had been guilty of blameable relaxation in providing the means of carrying on the war. The army, the navy, and the

treasury were all in a state of exhaustion. Large bounties had been offered for recruits, but the army received no increase, and Washington was compelled to look quietly on, while parties of the enemy were scouring and desolating the country around him. In this situation it was a thunderstroke to Congress, to be told, that the prospect of peace depended upon their consenting to give up something of their demands, while at the same time they could not avoid perceiving, that his most christian majesty was growing tired of his share in the protraction of the contest. They thought they discovered a mystery in the suggestions of the French Minister concerning a *tacit acknowledgement* on the part of Great Britain, of the independence of the United States, and they desired him to explain his meaning, which he did by referring them to the cases of the Swiss Cantons, and the United Provinces of Holland, in neither of which had their sovereignty been explicitly acknowledged by their former masters, though treaties had been made with both as independent states. These were precedents, he thought, which Great Britain would be inclined to following with regard to America.

Whatever they may have thought of M. Gerard's explanation, Congress now began to see the necessity of directing all their energies to the vigorous prosecution of the war. Retaliation again became the order of the day: inefficient as this threat had proved, in putting a stop to the savage mode in which the enemy had chosen to carry on the war, still it gave some relief to the feelings of horror excited by their cruelties, and served as a stimulus to general exertion. The ignominious treatment which had been inflicted by the enemy on a Captain Cunningham, who had

been captured in a private armed vessel, in the West Indies, brought to New York, and thence ordered to be sent to Great Britain, produced a resolution on the part of Congress to retaliate his treatment upon one or more prisoners within their power, unless a satisfactory explanation should be given to them within two weeks. On the 19th of August, having received accounts of the destruction committed at Fairfield and other places, they resolved, "That the marine committee be instructed to take the most effectual means to carry into execution the manifesto of October 30th, 1778, by burning and destroying the towns belonging to the enemy, in Great Britain and the West Indies."

On the 26th of July, they passed a vote of thanks to General Washington "for the vigilance, wisdom and magnanimity with which he had conducted the military operations of the States," and to General Wayne for his gallant attack and capture of Stony Point. To the latter a gold medal emblematic of the action was also voted. Proper notice was taken of the two brave officers who led the van, Lieutenant Colonel Fleury and Major Stewart, to each of whom a silver medal, of the same device as that ordered for General Wayne, was voted. The two Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, who had heroically devoted themselves to the dangerous conduct of the avant-guards, received the brevet commissions of captain. Nor was Congress unmindful of the troops in their distribution of favours; they directed an accurate estimation to be made of the military stores taken, and the value in money to be divided among the soldiers. Thus did they endeavour to cherish and reward the military spirit of their officers and soldiers.

A few days after his last conference with Congress, M. Gerard obtained permission to return to France, on account of his bad health, and was succeeded by the Chevalier de la Luzerne. Having thus brought down the proceedings of Congress to the period of the latest military operations related, we shall now revert to the situation of the two armies in the South.

CHAPTER XI.

Events of 1779 continued—The Count D'Estaing arrives on the coast of Georgia with the French fleet.—Lands his army, and is joined by General Lincoln before Savannah.—The Siege of Savannah—The Confederate Generals attempt to storm the works and are repulsed.—Count Pulaski is mortally wounded.—The Siege is raised and the allied armies retreat.—Count D'Estaing sails for the West Indies.—Extraordinary enterprise of Colonel White.—Expedition of Colonel Clarke against Lieutenant Governour Hamilton.—Of Colonel Goose Van Schaick.—General Sullivan sent against the Six Nations.—Attacks the Indians and Tories at Newtown, and suffers them to escape.—Lays waste the Indian Country, and returns to Head Quarters.—Resigns his commission.—Brandt destroys the Minisink Settlements.—Captain McDonald captures Freland's Fort.—Expedition of General Williams against the Creeks.—Spain declares War against England—Expedition of the Spanish Governour of Louisiana, and his recognition of American Independence.

WE have shown that the British General Prevost, after having marched almost without opposition from Savannah to the metropolis of South Carolina, and refusing the most advantageous treaty of neutrality offered by its inhabitants, withdrew his forces without venturing an assault and retired to his possessions in Georgia. The intense heat of the season which immediately succeeded, put a stop to all active operations in both armies, and for several months, General Lincoln had full leisure to prepare for the renewal of the campaign. Knowing from the situation of Washington, that it was not in his power to spare any considerable reinforcements from his army, and being convinced from the feeble condition of the enemy,

that a small auxiliary force would enable him to compel General Prevost to relinquish his conquest in the South, General Lincoln, in concert with Governour Rutledge and the French Consul at Charleston, wrote to the Count D'Estaing, who still remained with his fleet in the West Indies, urging him to join in the proposed enterprise. The Count, always ready to obey the calls of duty or of honour, instantly prepared to set sail for the American coast, where he arrived on the 1st of September with forty-one sail, having on board ten regiments, amounting to about 6000 men. Two ships of the line and three frigates, having on board Major General Fontanges, were sent in advance to Charleston, to announce his approach, and to afford an opportunity for the Governour and General Lincoln to concert a plan of operations with the French General.

The unexpected appearance of the French fleet produced no little alarm to the British naval force on the Georgia station. Three of their ships, ignorant of the Count's approach until too late to escape, fell into his hands; and the rest sought their safety by running up the Savannah river. Governour Rutledge took the most prompt and active measures to collect and embody the militia, which joined the American General, by regiments, as they came in; while at the same time he afforded all the facilities in his power to the French Admiral, for landing his troops by sending off to his fleet, the shallops and small vessels that could be collected. The Count D'Estaing landed three thousand of his men at Beaulieu on the 13th of September, which were joined on the 15th by Pulaski's Legion.

General Lincoln, in the mean time, put his army in motion, and crossed the Savannah at Zubly's ferry, on the 9th; but owing to the extensive swamps and creeks, which lay in his route, and the destruction of all the bridges by the enemy in their retreat, his progress was so interrupted, that he did not effect a junction with the Count's troops until the 16th, when the united armies met before the town of Savannah. General Prevost had employed the short interval allowed him, between the unlooked for appearance of the French fleet, and the union of the two armies in front of Savannah, in making the most active and vigorous preparations of defence. Lieutenant Colonels Maitland and Cruger had been ordered in from the advanced posts which they occupied, and the naval commander having dismantled his squadron, repaired to Savannah with his guns, marines and sailors. Their engineer officer, Major Moncrieff, was assiduously engaged in strengthening the old and erecting new works, in the labour of which he was assisted by two hundred negroes; and every thing evinced a determination on the part of the British General, to meet the contest with manly resistance.

The Count D'Estaing having arrived before the town previous to the junction of the allied armies, had summoned the garrison to surrender in the name of his master alone, probably from mere inadvertence, to which the British General declined to answer, alleging truly that the Count was not combating for the French sovereign only. The summons was repeated in the appropriate style by the united Generals, and Prevost demanded a truce for twenty-four hours, that he might be allowed time to *adjust the terms of surrender*. His only object, however, was to pro-

tract negotiation, that the unfinished work of his defences might be completed; in which General Prevost gave convincing proof that he had learned a salutary lesson from the Americans at Charleston. The Count D'Estaing unfortunately acceded to the proposition; and before the termination of the illjudged truce, Lieutenant Colonel Maitland, whose march from Beaufort had been impeded by numerous obstacles, entered the town with his corps of veteran troops. Thus did the delay enable General Prevost greatly to increase the strength of his works, to receive to his assistance one of the best officers in his army, and to add at least one third to the number of his troops.

At the close of the truce, General Prevost answered to the summons, "That he should defend himself to the last extremity;" and on the 23d the allied army broke ground for the seige. Their preparations were carried forward with great diligence, and with a seeming resolution to make up by present activity, what had been lost in the impolicy of listening to propositions for delay. In ten days from the time of breaking ground, 53 pieces of battering cannon, and 14 mortars were mounted, from which a tremendous fire was opened upon the town on the morning of the 4th of October. Opposed to these, the batteries of the enemy displayed a face of nearly one hundred pieces of all sizes, which seemed to promise a terrible conflict. General Prevost, previous to the commencement of the American fire, had solicited further time to remove the aged, the women and the children to a place of safety; but as he had chosen to neglect the abundant time which had been already allowed him, the request was regarded as a mere *ruse de guerre* and very properly rejected, though the rejection

brought upon the confederate Generals the imputation of inhumanity.

The batteries continued to play at short intervals for several days, but without producing any effect. The Count D'Estaing at length began to grow exceedingly impatient. He had been led to expect, by the representations which had induced him to undertake the enterprise, that the feeble condition of the enemy at Savannah would ensure him success in ten or fifteen days at most, and he had every thing to fear for the safety of his fleet, both from the stormy service of the year and British naval enterprise. He therefore proposed to General Lincoln, to change the system of regular approaches, and attempt the town at once by storm. This proposition being accompanied by the alternative of raising the siege forthwith, General Lincoln found himself reluctantly compelled to accept it, rather than abandon the enterprise, and the 9th of October was fixed upon, to attempt the enemy's works by storm.

On the morning of the 8th, an attempt was made by Major L'Enfant to set fire to the abbatis : he succeeded, with five men, in reaching the abbatis, through a brisk fire from the British lines, and in kindling the wood ; but the dampness of the air, and the greenness of the materials of which the abbatis was constructed, prevented his design from taking effect. It was a bold and daring effort, which deserved a better success. In the course of the night, a fellow by the name of James Curry, Sergeant Major of the Charleston volunteers, who had by some strange imprudence become possessed of the plan of attack intended on the following morning, deserted and carried information of it to the enemy. A storm was precisely the

wish of General Prevost, and his defences were well prepared for it ; and there was no hope of his being able to withstand a regular seige, unless relieved by a British fleet superiour to the Count's. One or two sorties of small parties and an occasional slight skirmish, filled up the intermediate time.

Savannah is secure from a land attack on one side by the river ; and a deep morass running perpendicular to the river affords it security in the rear. Along the margin of the morass, there was a sink in the ground, or hollow way, leading to the British right, which gave the assailants the advantage of approaching very close, before they could be discovered, or before they could be exposed to the enemy's fire. It was supposed too that this was the weakest part of the enemy's defence ; but the information which had been given to him by the American deserter, enabled General Prevost to provide against his natural weakness in this quarter, by stationing Lieutenant Colonel Maitland there with his veteran troops. The plan of attack was, that two columns should be thrown into the hollow way just mentioned, composed of the *elite* of both armies, to move upon the enemy's right, while the militia should make a divided assault against their centre and left. General Prevost had confided his centre to Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, and his left, to Lieutenant Colonel Cruger ; the right we have already said was entrusted to the officer in whom he placed most confidence, Lieutenant Colonel Maitland.

The morning of the 9th was dark and lowering ; the allied army moved to the assault a little before daylight ; one of the two columns destined to attack the enemy's right was commanded by Count D'Estaing

and General Lincoln in concert, the other by Count Dillon. The former under cover of the darkness, moved along the margin of the morass, until they approached very near the enemy's lines, when a fire was opened from their well sheltered batteries, that committed great havoc on our front. The column moved on, however, undismayed : D'Estaing and Lincoln forced the abbatis and planted their respective standards on the parapet ; and now had Count Dillon's column come up in cooperation, the final possession of the works was certain ; but unfortunately the Count was led astray in the darkness, and failed in the concerted cooperation. The brave soldiers who had planted their standards on the enemy's parapet were soon compelled to yield to the vigorous attack of Lieutenant Colonel Maitland, who coming upon them with a superiour force of grenadiers and marines, forced them into the ditch, tore down the flags that had waved in short lived triumph, and compelled the whole column to retire through the abbatis.

At the moment Lieutenant Colonel Maitland was coming up with his own corps, and the marines and grenadiers under Lieutenant Colonel Glazier united, Count Palaski at the head of 200 horse, attempted to force his way through the enemy's works and gain their rear ; but the career of this gallant soldier was fatally arrested ; he received a mortal wound and fell from his horse ; this stopped the progress of his squadron and in all probability changed the fate of the day. The Count D'Estaing and Major General Fontange were both slightly wounded in the assault, but their undaunted bravery was of no avail : the whole army were forced to retire. The united armies suffered considerably in the retreat from the enemy's artillery,

but no sally was made to pursue them, and the retreat was conducted in good order.

The havoc among the allied armies was very great : of the French 700 were killed and wounded, and of the American regulars 240. The Charleston militia had one Captain killed and 6 privates wounded. The enemy on the contrary suffered but little in proportion, having had only 120 killed and wounded : among the former was Captain Tawes, of the provincials, an officer of signal intrepidity, who fell at the leading point of our assault, after having slain three of his assailants with his own hand.

General Prevost and his officers deservedly acquired great reputation, for their brave and successful defence of Savannah ; the chief glory of which, however, belonged to Lieutenant Colonel Maitland, who lived not to reap the rewards which would undoubtedly have been bestowed upon him by his applauding country, having died of the bilious fever a few days after our repulse. Nor could any troops or officers have behaved better than the united French and American armies. They effected every thing which valour alone could effect ; and if any blame can attach to them for their want of success, it must be for the length of time which they suffered to elapse before the assault was commenced. Had Count D'Estaing opened his ordnance against the town upon his first arrival before it, even before the junction of General Lincoln's forces, instead of listening to the ingenious proposition of Prevost for delay, he would have carried it almost without opposition ; for at that moment, Prevost had but ten guns mounted, and but little more than 2000 troops, to oppose to more than double the number. It is difficult to comprehend the Count's

reasons for delay, considering his hasty and impetuous temper, and the strong arguments that ought to have urged him to promptitude and decision of movement. It is matter of surprise too, that neither the Count nor General Lincoln, should have turned their attention to the route between Beaufort and Savannah, so as to have obstructed the march of Colonel Maitland's troops, and thereby have prevented his union with General Prevost. The route was in itself difficult and hazardous: the natural obstacles which Colonel Maitland had to encounter, were such as would have appalled a less enterprising officer; and if these difficulties had been increased, as they might have been, by throwing a few troops in his way to harass and worry him, it might have been impossible for him to have gained the town, at least without such a loss as would have rendered his junction but little important to General Prevost.

The retreat of our army was of course followed by the raising of the siege; the Count reembarked his troops without delay, while General Lincoln returned to South Carolina. Nothing could exceed the harmony which prevailed between the confederate Generals: not a whisper of reproach escaped either for their want of success, but they separated in mutual confidence and good will. Thus was the unfortunate D'Estaing a second time compelled to quit the United States, without reaping the laurels, that seemed to be waving within his grasp. His fleet encountered a severe storm in their passage to the West Indies, which separated and dispersed them. The Count himself returned to France.

One of the most extraordinary enterprises ever related in history, one indeed which nothing but the

respectability of the testimony could have prevented our considering as marvellous, occurred during the siege of Savannah. It was an enterprise conceived and executed by Colonel John White, of the Georgia line. A Captain French of Delancey's 1st battalion, was posted with 100 men, British regulars, on the Ogeechee river, about 25 miles from Savannah. There lay also at the same place five armed vessels, the largest mounting 14 guns, and having on board altogether 41 men. Colonel White, with Captain Etholm, three soldiers, and his own servant approached this post on the evening of the 30th of September, kindled a number of fires, arranging them in the manner of a large camp, and summoned French to surrender, he and his comrades in the mean time riding about in various directions, and giving orders in a loud voice, as if performing the duties of the staff to a large army. French, not doubting the reality of what he saw, and anxious to spare the effusion of blood which a contest with a force so superiour would produce, surrendered the whole detachment, together with the crews of the five vessels, amounting in all to 141 men, and 130 stand of arms ! Colonel White, however, had still a very difficult game to play ; it was necessary to keep up the delusion of French, until the prisoners should be secured ; and with this view, he pretended that the animosity of his troops was so ungovernable that a little stratagem would be necessary to save the prisoners from their fury, and that he should therefore commit them to the care of three guides with orders to conduct them to a place of safety. With many thanks for the Colonel's humanity, French accepted the proposition, and marched off at a quick pace under the

direction of the three guides, fearful at every step that the rage of White's troops would burst upon them in defiance of his humane attempts to restrain it. White, as soon as they were out of sight, employed himself in collecting the militia of the neighbourhood, with whom he soon overtook his prisoners, and they were conducted in safety for 25 miles to an American post.

Thus ended the southern campaign of 1779, which had been attended with some daring and brilliant projects on both sides, but which closed with the balance of advantage greatly in favour of the British. The prospects of success to the Americans had been frequently flattering, but they were in every thing baffled at the moment when victory seemed to be most certain. The defeat of Howe, which commenced the campaign, the subsequent disgraceful flight of Ashe, with a large detachment of the enemy, and the repulse of Lincoln from Stono, and the unsuccessful issue of the siege of Savannah, were counter-balanced only by the preservation of Charleston, and the continued possession of the upper parts of Georgia.

The contests with our Indian neighbours will now demand our attention. We have already seen the attempts of Lieutenant Governour Hamilton of Detroit to excite the Indians to hostilities against our frontier settlements. In December, 1778, he set on foot an extensive expedition of this sort, in which he expected to be joined by 200 Indians from Michilimackinaw, and 500 from the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and other nations. His design was to penetrate up the Ohio, and scour the whole of Kentucky as far as Fort Pitt; and with a view to be ready for an early

movement in the spring, he had taken post at St. Vincents. Colonel Clarke, of whose bravery and enterprise we have before had occasion to speak, was fortunately apprised of Hamilton's situation and intention, and instantly determined to attack him. It was a desperate resolution, but it offered the only probable means of saving the back settlements of Virginia and Kentucky, and Colonel Clarke had given proofs that he was not to be appalled by danger or difficulties. He arrived unexpectedly at St. Vincents on the 23d of February, and immediately commenced an assault upon the town, which after surrendering offered to assist in the attack against the fort. Hamilton on the 24th surrendered his garrison, amounting to 79 men, prisoners of war. Thus was this hostile expedition nipped in its bud. Clarke had commenced his march with but 180 men, had to traverse a country without roads, in the most inclement season of the year, over a distance of more than 200 miles. While at St. Vincents, Colonel Clarke sent a detachment of his men to encounter an Indian party who were just returning to the fort from one of their expeditions; of this party nine were taken prisoners, and he had also the satisfaction of releasing two Americans from their hands. Hearing at the same time of a convoy of provisions and goods, on their way from Detroit, he sent a detachment of 60 men in armed boats to attack them. They met them about 40 leagues up the river, and succeeded in capturing the whole, taking 50 prisoners, and goods and provisions to the amount of ten thousand pounds. Thus was this nest of robbers and murderers completely broken up. It was found that Hamilton was in the habit of giving considerable rewards for American

scalps, and inciting the Indians by every species of artifice to the indulgence of their savage propensities against our defenceless frontier settlements.

Soon after this, in another quarter, a small detachment led by Colonel Goose Van Schaick, from Fort Schuyler against the Onandaga tribe on Lake Ontario, was equally successful. The Colonel accomplished a distance of ninety miles in less than three days, destroyed a large quantity of grain, arms and ammunition, killed 12 Indian warriors, and brought off 34 prisoners, besides a number of cattle and horses, and without losing a man.

A much more considerable expedition had been planned about the same time against the hostile Indians of the Six Nations, to consist of about 5000 men under the command of General Sullivan. They were to make the attack by three different routes, by the way of the Susquehannah, the Mohawk and the Ohio rivers, while Washington by a feint of entering Canada, should induce the British Governour General to keep his forces at home. This plan was so far changed in its execution as to divide the whole force into two parts only; the main body under Sullivan and the other under General James Clinton, the Governour's brother. Sullivan reached Wyoming, on the Susquehannah, on the 21st July, having delayed his march, by waiting the result of extravagant demands which he continued to make, for men, provisions, and equipments, and which Congress were not disposed to grant. The number of his troops, by the return of the 22d of July, amounted to no more than 2312, rank and file, for the service of which, the Quarter Master General had supplied him with 1400 horses. This force was more than three times

greater than any probable number which the hostile Indians could bring against him, as the whole number of their warriors did not exceed 550, and to these were joined about 250 Tories, the whole headed by Johnston, Butler and Brandt: yet Sullivan still demanded, and waited for more men. On the 21st of August, he was joined by General Clinton with 1600 men, who had passed by the way of the Mohawk, without meeting opposition. It seemed to be the infatuated determination of General Sullivan to do every thing in this expedition, which could blast the laurels he had hitherto won. He lived, during the march, in every species of extravagance, was constantly complaining to Congress that he was not half supplied, and daily amused himself in unwarrantable remarks to his young officers respecting the imbecility of Congress and the board of war.

The hostile Indians and Tories before mentioned, to the number of about 800, were posted at Newtown, where they had constructed works of considerable strength, and where they had been long expecting the approach of Sullivan. At length, on the 29th of August, the General arrived. He had with him six light field pieces and two howitzers, and as if determined that his march should be no secret, a morning and evening gun were regularly fired during his whole route. He seemed to consider the enemy as already in his power, and made the most absurd boast of his intentions with regard to them. The assault was commenced by firing his light field pieces against their works, while a detachment under General Poor were ordered to march a mile and a half around the mountain, in full view of the enemy, for the purpose of attacking them on their left flank,

Thus put on their guard, they waited the approach of General Poor, and would probably have given him battle; but his firing being the signal of other movements by Sullivan, they suddenly abandoned their works, and took to flight. Nothing could have been more mortifying to General Sullivan than this escape of what he had deemed a certain prize. He remained in the fort until the 31st, and then marched for Catherine's Town on the Seneca Lake. His road lay through the most dangerous defiles, and a swamp of considerable extent, through which a deep creek flowed in so meandering a course, that it was necessary to ford it seven or eight times. He arrived at the entrance of this swamp late in the afternoon, and was strongly advised not to venture into it until the next morning; but he persisted, and a miracle only prevented his obstinacy from bringing destruction upon his men. Some of the defiles through which he had to pass, were so narrow and dangerous that a score or two of Indians might have successfully disputed the passage against any number of men. The night was exceedingly dark, the men wearied, scattered and broken, and ready to die rather than move on; but the Indian scouts who had been sent to watch them, having retired as soon as it was dark, under the full persuasion that no General in his senses would attempt such a road by night, the defiles were fortunately unguarded, and the General arrived with his wearied army about midnight at the town. Clinton had halted at the entrance of the swamp, and pursued his march the next day.

Sullivan continued for more than a month in the Indian country, laying waste and destroying every thing, after the manner of his savage enemy, and

completing the destruction of his fame. He arrived about the middle of October at Easton, in Pennsylvania, having in the course of his expedition killed *eleven* Indians and destroyed eighteen or twenty towns! Of the 1400 horses which he had taken with him, 300 only were brought back. His childish and absurd complaints had disgusted the commander in chief as well as the board of war, and the ridiculous vanity displayed in his official account of the expedition, rendered him the jest of the whole army. He was not long able to bear this downfall of his pride and consequence, and on the 9th of November, he solicited permission to resign, which Congress readily accorded.

While Sullivan was idly wasting his time on the march from Newtown, Brandt at the head of about 90 Indians and Tories, fell into the Minisink settlements and burned upwards of twenty houses and mills. They killed several, carried off a number of persons, and a considerable quantity of plunder. They were pursued by about 150 militia, collected from Goshen and the neighborhood, who from a want of caution, suffered themselves to be surprised and completely defeated.

Five days after, Captain M'Donald at the head of 250 British and Indians, entered Frelands fort, on the west branch of the Susquehannah and captured it, together with 30 men. Contrary to their usual custom, they set the women and children, to the number of 50, at liberty.

A few successful expeditions were, about the same time, carried on against them, of which the most considerable was that of General Williams, who with Colonel Pickens, entered the Indian country towards

the latter end of August, and burnt and destroyed upwards of fifty thousand bushels of corn. He moreover compelled the Indians to remove into the settled towns of the Creeks, thereby preventing the plundering system which they had been for some time carrying on against the unprotected inhabitants.

While these things were going on, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, received intelligence that his Catholic master had declared war against England. The Governour, Don Bernardo de Galvez, lost no time in making known this pleasing intelligence ; and having collected the whole force of his province at New Orleans, he made a publick recognition of the independence of the United States on the 19th of August. His next step was to march against the British settlements on the Mississippi, for the protection of which Lieutenant Colonel Dickson had raised a small fort, which was garrisoned by about 500 men. The Spanish Governour laid siege to this little fort on the 2d of September, and obtained possession of it by surrender on the 11th. The conditions were highly honourable to the garrison ; and the treatment which the prisoners and inhabitants received from their conquerour, was such as to call forth their most lively expressions of gratitude for his humanity and kindness.

CHAPTER XII.

Events of 1779 continued—Proceedings of Congress.—Ultimatum of Negotiations for Peace.—Instructions to the Ministers at foreign Courts.—Mr. Jay appointed Minister to Spain.—Mr. Adams to negotiate a peace with Great Britain.—Further emission of Bills of Credit.—Lieutenant Colonel Talbot made a Captain in the Navy.—Gold Medal presented to Major Lee.—Mr. Huntington elected President.—Convention Troops ordered to be fed with Indian Corn.—Chevalier de la Luzerne presents his Credentials to Congress, and is received as Minister from France.—Regulation of prices.—Loans from Spain and Holland.—Communication from the French Minister.—Cruise of Captain Paul Jones.—Action between the Bon Homme Richard, and Serapis.—The Countess of Scarborough surrenders to the Pallas.—Jones enters the Texel—Remonstrance of the British Ambassadors, and reply of their High Mightinesses, the States General.

BEFORE we proceed to relate the further operations of the two armies, it will be proper to look at the measures pursued by Congress, in consequence of the late conference held with Monsieur Gerard. Having agreed upon the demands which should be made in their negotiation for peace, Congress on the 14th of August, wrote to their Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of France, in the following terms. "Having determined, that we would not insist on a direct acknowledgment by Great Britain of our rights in the fisheries, this important matter is liable to an incertitude, which may be dangerous to the political and commercial interests of the United States, we have therefore agreed and resolved, that the common right of fishing shall in no case be given up; and that if

after a treaty of peace with Great Britain, she shall molest the citizens or inhabitants of the United States, in taking fish on the Banks of Newfoundland and other fisheries of the American seas, any where excepting within the distance of three leagues of the shore of the territories remaining to Great Britain at the close of the war, such molestations, being in the opinion of Congress a direct violation and breach of the peace, shall be a common cause of the said States, and the force of the Union be exerted to obtain redress for the parties injured. But notwithstanding these precautions, as Great Britain may again light up the flames of war, and use our exercise of the fisheries as her pretext; and since some doubts may arise whether this object is so effectually guarded by the treaty of alliance with his most Christian Majesty, that any molestation therein on the part of Great Britain is to be considered as a *casus fœderis*, you are to endeavour to obtain of his Majesty an explanation on that subject, upon the principle, that, notwithstanding the high confidence reposed in his wisdom and justice, yet considering the uncertainty of human affairs and how doubts may be afterwards raised in the breasts of his royal successors, the great importance of the fisheries renders the citizens of these states very solicitous to obtain his Majesty's sense with relation to them, as the best security against the ambition of the British Court. For this purpose you shall propose the following articles, in which, nevertheless, such alterations may be made, as the circumstances and situation of affairs shall render convenient and proper. Should the same be agreed to and executed, you are immediately to transmit a copy thereof to our Minister at the Court of Spain.

‘Whereas by the treaty of alliance between the most Christian King and the United States of North America, the two parties guaranty mutually from that time and forever, against all other powers, to wit, the United States to his most Christian Majesty the possession then appertaining to the Crown of France in America, as well as those which it may acquire by a future treaty of peace ; and his most Christian Majesty guaranties on his part to the United States, all their liberty, sovereignty and independence, absolute and unlimited, as well in matters of government as commerce, and also their possessions and the additions or conquests that their confederation may obtain during the war, according to the said treaty. And whereas the said parties did further agree and declare that in case of a rupture between France and England, the said reciprocal guarantee should have its full force and effect the moment such a war should break out :—And *whereas* doubts may hereafter arise how far the said guarantee extends to the case, to wit, that should Great Britain molest or disturb the subjects or inhabitants of France, or the said States, in taking fish on the Banks of Newfoundland, and other of the fishing banks and seas of North America, formerly and usually frequented by the subjects and inhabitants respectively :—And *whereas* the said King and the United States have thought proper to determine with precision the true interest and meaning of the said guarantee in this respect, now therefore as a further demonstration of this natural good will and affection, it is hereby agreed, concluded and determined as follows, to wit, that if after the conclusion of the treaty or treaties which shall terminate the present war, Great Britain shall molest or disturb the subjects or

inhabitants of the United States, in taking fish on the banks, seas and places, formerly used and frequented by them, so as not to encroach on the territorial rights, which may remain to her after the termination of the present war as aforesaid, and war should thereupon break out between the United States and Great Britain : or if Great Britain shall molest or disturb the subjects and inhabitants of France, in taking fish on the banks, seas and places formerly used and frequented by them, so as not to encroach on the territorial rights of Great Britain as aforesaid, and war should thereupon break out between France and Great Britain; in either of these cases of war as aforesaid, his most Christian Majesty and the said United States shall make it a common cause, and aid each other mutually with their good offices, their councils, and their forces according to the exigence of conjunctures, as becomes good and faithful allies. *Provided* always that nothing herein contained shall be taken or understood, as contrary to or inconsistent with the true intent and meaning of the treaties already subsisting between his most Christian majesty and the said states, but the same shall be taken and understood, as explanatory of and conformable to those treaties."

The following were the instructions agreed upon to the Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain. " Congress have come to the following resolution, That if his Catholic majesty shall accede to the treaties between France and the United States of America, and in the concurrence with them continue the present war with Great Britain for the purpose expressed in the treaties aforesaid, he shall not thereby be precluded from securing to himself the Floridas : on the contrary, if he shall obtain the Floridas from Great Britain, these

United States will guaranty the same to his Catholic Majesty; *provided* always that the United States shall enjoy the free navigation of the river Mississippi into and from the sea. You are therefore to communicate to his most Christian Majesty, the desire of Congress to enter into a treaty of alliance, and of amity and commerce, with his Catholic Majesty, and to request his favourable interposition for that purpose; at the same time you are to make such proposals to his Catholic Majesty as in your judgment, from circumstances, will be proper for obtaining for the United States of America, equal advantages with those which are secured to them by the treaties with his most Christian Majesty, observing always the resolution aforesaid as the *ultimatum* of these United States. You are particularly to endeavour to obtain some convenient port or ports below the 31° of north latitude on the river Mississippi free for all merchants' vessels, goods, wares and merchandise belonging to the inhabitants of these states. The distressed state of our finances, and the great depreciation of our paper money, incline Congress to hope, that his Catholic Majesty, if he shall conclude a treaty with these states, will be induced to lend the money; you are therefore to present to him the great distress of these states on that account, and to solicit a loan of five millions of dollars upon the best terms in your power, not exceeding six per cent. per ann. effectually to enable them to cooperate with the allies against the common enemy: but before you make any proposals to his Catholic Majesty, for a loan, you are to endeavour to obtain a subsidy, in consideration of the guarantee aforesaid."

They likewise prepared instructions to the commissioner, who should be appointed to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain ; in which after pointing out the boundaries that it would be necessary for him to insist upon, they proceed—" As the great object of the present defensive war, on the part of the allies, is to establish the independence of the United States, and as any treaty whereby this end cannot be obtained, must be only ostensible and illusory, you are therefore to make it a preliminary article to any negotiation, that Great Britain shall agree to treat with the United States as sovereign, free and independent. You shall take especial care also, that the independence of the said states be effectually assured and confirmed by the treaty or treaties of peace, according to the form and effect of the treaty of alliance with his most Christian Majesty ; and you shall not agree to such treaty or treaties, unless the same be thereby assured and confirmed. Although it is of the utmost importance to the peace and commerce of the United States, that Canada and Nova Scotia should be ceded, and more particularly that their equal, common right, to the fisheries, should be guarantied to them, yet a desire of terminating the war hath induced us not to make the acquisition of these objects an ultimatum on the present occasion. You are empowered to agree to a cessation of hostilities during the negotiation, provided our ally should consent to the same, and provided it shall be stipulated that all the forces of the enemy should be immediately withdrawn from the United States. In all other matters not above mentioned, you are to govern yourself by the alliance between his most Christian Majesty and these states, by the advice of our allies, by your knowledge of our inter-

ests, and by your own discretion, in which we repose the fullest confidence."

A few days after these instructions were agreed upon, Congress proceeded to the appointment of a proper person for negotiating a treaty of peace. The ballots for John Adams and Mr. Jay, were twice equal, so that no choice could be made; in the mean time a resolution prevailed "that a *Minister plenipotentiary* be appointed to negotiate a treaty of alliance, and of amity and commerce, between the United States of America, and his Catholick Majesty." The appointment of a Minister under this resolution, relieved them from the embarrassment of fruitless balloting between the two gentlemen above mentioned, Mr. Jay was elected; and Mr. Adams was immediately appointed Minister Plenipotentiary for negotiating treaties of peace and commerce with Great Britain. Mr. Jay soon after sailed for Europe in company with the late French Minister, but previous to his sailing, Congress determined upon giving him the following instructions. "You are to use your utmost endeavours for obtaining permission for the citizens and inhabitants of these states, to lade and take on board their vessels, salt at the island of St. Tortuga; and also to cut, load and bring away, logwood and mahogany, in and from the bay of Honduras and its rivers, and to build on the shores, stores, houses and magazines, for the woodcutters and their families, in the extent ceded to his Britannick Majesty by the 17th article of the definitive treaty concluded at Paris, the 10th of February, 1763, or in as great an extent as can be obtained."

The indifference with which Congress viewed the evils of their system of paper currency, and the high

ideas they entertained, as well of the capacities, as the great faith of the people, may be seen in the resolution passed on the 1st September to limit the emission of bills of credit to *two hundred millions* of dollars. And this too they considered the publick faith as pledged to redeem, at the end of the war, at its nominal value, while the highest real amount which could be raised upon the same, would not exceed one fourth. This resolution was accompanied by a letter to their constituents, in which they entered at large upon the state of their finances, and endeavoured to prove by a train of sophistical reasoning, that *paper* money was the most beneficial medium of commerce and exchange which could be adopted—that the abilities of the people of the United States to redeem it were more than adequate, and that they were pledged to do so, not only in their representative, but in their individual capacity. “We should pay an ill compliment, (say they) to the understanding and honour of every true American, were we to adduce many arguments to show the baseness or bad policy of violating our national faith, or omitting to pursue the measures necessary to preserve it. A bankrupt, *faithless* republick, would be a *novelty* in the political world, and appear among reputable nations, like a common prostitute among chaste and respectable matrons. We are convinced that the arts and efforts of our enemies, will not be wanting to draw us into this humiliating and contemptible situation. Impelled by malice and the suggestion of chagrin and disappointment, at not being able to bend our necks to their yoke, they will endeavour to force or seduce us to commit this unpardonable sin, in order to subject us to the punishment due to it, and that we may thenceforth be a re-

proach and a by-word among the nations. Apprized of these consequences, knowing the value of national character, and impressed with a due sense of the immutable laws of justice and honour, it is impossible that America should think without horror of such an execrable deed. Determine to finish the contest as you began it, honestly and gloriously. Let it never be said, that America had no sooner become independent, than she became insolent, or that her infant glories and growing fame were obscured and tarnished by broken contracts and violated faith, in the very hour when all the nations of the earth were admiring, and almost adoring, the splendour of her rising."

This letter was manifestly addressed rather to the passions than to the understandings of the people; many of them had already seen cause to doubt the existence of that virtue which is the only solid foundation of publick faith; they could not be made to see the advantages of a *theory* which produced nothing but misery in its *practice*: if they could not depend upon *each other* for the credit of paper emitted by themselves, what right had they to depend upon their posterity; a publick faith broken at the very moment of its being pledged, stood but little chance of being redeemed, when the objects for which it was pledged should be accomplished. Congress never committed a more egregious error, than in their system of finance. They saw the insufficiency of their *bills of credit*, and yet persisted in emitting them to still greater extent, absurdly supposing that the confidence of the people would be increased in proportion to the magnitude of their debt. Determined as they seemed to be, to regard their paper money as a

blessing, it was their obvious duty to have made it penal to pay or receive it in payment under its nominal value. The publick virtue of no nation has ever been found sufficient to counteract the operations of private interest. It is the *law* that constitutes the *morality* of every nation, whether its government be republican or despotick. Four years had passed since the first emission of *bills of credit*; and their credit had gradually but uniformly depreciated in the ratio of their emission, until they were become but little better than waste paper. But they were now plunged so deeply into the system, that they were compelled either to give up the contest, or to increase the evil by further emissions.

On the 17th of September, they conferred the commission of Captain in the navy on Lieutenant Colonel Talbot, as a further reward for his distinguished gallantry in the capture of the Pigot schooner; and on the 24th, they resolved to present to Major Lee, a gold medal, bearing an emblematical impression of the attack on the fort and works at Powles Hook. The appointment of Mr. Jay to the foreign mission, vacated the presidential chair, which was filled on the 28th by the election of Samuel Huntington.

The convention troops of Burgoyne which had been sent to Virginia in November 1778, and which still remained prisoners, demanded so large a supply of flour for their support, that that article became extremely scarce, and Congress were compelled on the 18th of October to adopt the resolution of feeding them on Indian corn; but they at the same time directed information to be given to Sir Henry Clinton, that passports would be granted for the transmission of flour, if he chose to supply them with that article.

The Chevalier de la Luzerne, was presented to Congress on the 17th of November, and having delivered his credentials, was recognized as Minister plenipotentiary from the court of France.

On the 19th, a resolution was passed again recommending to the several states, and pointing out the urgent necessity, to enact laws for a general limitation of *prices*. The resolutions which had been heretofore passed on this subject, so far from having resulted in any beneficial effect, or tended in any manner to keep up the credit of the continental money, had served only to enrich individuals at the publick expense; and so little of the boasted virtue of republicks was to be found even in the Congress itself, that many of its members took advantage of their official knowledge of these measures to speculate upon their fellow-citizens to enormous amounts.

In addition to the two hundred millions of their own paper already in circulation, they found it necessary to borrow largely of all the European powers with whom they held correspondence. We have seen that Dr. Franklin had already been empowered to borrow to a large amount, to enable him to honour the bills which had been drawn upon him by Congress; and on the 23d of November they did the same on Mr. Jay, and on Mr. Laurens, for one hundred thousand pounds sterling each—the last of these gentlemen having been appointed expressly with a view to negotiate this loan in Holland.

On the 16th of December a communication was made to Congress by the French Minister, through a committee appointed for the purpose of waiting upon him, in which most of the arguments, which had been used in the *ad statum legendi* of M. Gerard, were re-

peated to show the little prospect there seemed to be of a peace with Great Britain, founded upon the recognition of American independence. The minister stated that Great Britain was using every possible inducement to the different powers of Europe to declare war against France, while at the same time they endeavoured to persuade them that the United States were disposed to enter into treaties of accommodation—and that many persons in the United States were actually employed in negotiating such treaties with every prospect of success. The minister then artfully added that his master gave no credit to these suggestions of Great Britain, but that it was essential to the good of the United States that measures should be speedily taken to prevent the other powers of Europe from being deceived into a belief of them. He pointed out the danger of suffering Great Britain to remain in possession of any portion of the United States, and the necessity of prompt and vigorous measures to prepare for the next campaign, in which he promised the most hearty cooperation of his most Christian Majesty.

The answer of Congress to this communication, and the further conferences with the Minister will be given in another chapter. We shall close the present with an account of the successful cruizes of Captain Paul Jones, who sailed from L'Orient in July, with a small squadron of five vessels, to which he acted as Commodore. Jones himself commanded the *Bon Homme Richard*, of 40 guns and 375 men. From L'Orient he sailed to the western coast of Ireland, and thence steered round the north of Scotland, until he entered the Frith of Forth. Arrived off Hamborough head on the 23d of September, he fell in

with the Baltick fleet, under convoy of the *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*. Captain Pearson who commanded the *Serapis*, having received intelligence of Jones's situation, prepared to place himself between his convoy and the hostile squadron. He was joined in the course of his manœuvres by Captain Piercy of the *Countess of Scarborough*, and a little after 7 o'clock in the evening, the *Bon Homme Richard*, rounded to within musket shot of the *Serapis*. An action immediately commenced, which has never been surpassed in period of duration, in severity of conflict, or in the bravery with which it was sustained on both sides. The *Serapis* was greatly superiour to the *Bon Homme Richard*, but this was made up in the determined resolution with which Jones manœvered to lay his vessel along side, and in which he succeeded after an hour's engagement. At half past 8, the two ships were lashed together fore and aft, and until half past ten, the fight raged with equal fury and with equal hopes. Both ships were on fire more than once; and to add to the horror of the scene, the *Alliance* came up several times in the course of the action, and while it was too dark to distinguish friends from foes, poured several broadsides into both. Captain Pearson, at length, finding further resistance useless, and having allowed sufficient time for his convoy to escape, struck his flag. Jones's ship was reduced to a perfect wreck, and it required the most assiduous labour at the pumps to prevent her from going down before her crew could be removed. The slaughter was terrible on both sides, and accident perhaps rather than superiority of courage or skill, determined the victory in favour of Jones; for a short time before the conflict terminated,

a spark lighting upon one of the cartridges on the quarter deck of the *Serapis*, and communicated fire from one to another with such fatal effect, that nearly all the men abaft the mainmast were blown up, and the guns rendered entirely useless.

While this terrible engagement lasted between the *Serapis* and the *Bon Homme Richard*, the *Pallas* and the *Countess of Scarborough* also had an action of near two hour's continuance, which resulted in the capture of the latter. On the 3d of October, Commodore Jones entered the Texel with his prizes, and the remnant of his little squadron, having taken and ransomed during his cruize, prizes to the amount of forty thousand pounds sterling.

A singular incident occurred just before the *Serapis* struck, which shows Jones's character in a strong light. A report had been spread between decks that Jones and some of the principal officers were killed and that the ship was sinking. This alarmed the crew so much, that some of the non-commissioned officers were deputed to go on deck and sue for quarters. Jones discovered them in the act of fulfilling their mission, and ordered them in his usual peremptory tone to be shot. They all escaped below but the gunner, who being unfortunately the last man, a pistol which Jones threw at him struck him on the head and fractured his skull: the poor fellow lay in this deplorable condition until after the action, when his skull was trepanned, and he recovered. The cry for quarters produced something like a cessation of hostilities for a moment, and the captain of the *Serapis* demanded of Jones if he had struck; but the latter replied by pointing to his shattered flag still waving, and the fight was renewed with redoubled fury.

The *Bon Homme Richard* had upwards of 300 men killed and wounded, and the *Serapis* 137 killed and 76 wounded.

It was not until after several applications repeated with considerable heat by Jones, that the Dutch Admiral would permit his entering the Texel with his squadron and prizes; and his compliance in the end produced a remonstrance from Sir Joseph Yorke, the British Ambassador at the Hague, who demanded from the States General a surrender of the prizes, on the plea that Jones was a *pirate*; and threatened serious consequences in case of a refusal. Their high mightinesses replied that they would "in no respect whatever pretend to judge of the loyalty or illegality of the actions of those who have on the open sea, taken any vessels which do not belong to this country, and bring them into any of the ports of this republic; that they only open their ports to them to give them shelter from storms or other disasters, and oblige them to put to sea again with their prizes, without unloading or disposing of their cargoes, but letting them remain exactly as when they arrived; and that they are not authorized to pass judgment, either on these prizes or the person of Paul Jones." Sir Joseph Yorke was compelled for the present to be satisfied with this reply.

Let us now return to the military operations of the South.

CHAPTER XIII.

Events of 1780—Sir Henry Clinton evacuates Rhode Island, and prepares an expedition to the South.—The British fleet arrive at North Edisto, and disembark the army.—Rencontre between the British and American Cavalry.—Sir Henry appears before Charleston.—Situation of General Lincoln.—Earl of Caithness wounded in a skirmish.—Charleston is summoned to surrender, and the summons rejected.—The enemy's batteries are opened.—Dangerous situation of Lincoln.—Terms of capitulation offered by Lincoln and rejected.—Movements of the Cavalry.—Surprise of Lieutenant Colonel Washington at Monk's Corner.—Success of Lieutenant Colonel White against a foraging party of the enemy.—Disappointment, and discomfiture at Leno's ferry.—Sir Henry again demands the surrender of Charleston, which is given up, and Lincoln and his army become prisoners of war. Terms of capitulation, and American loss.—Treachery and punishment of Colonel Hamilton Ballentine.—Route and butchery of an American party at Waxhaw by Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton.—Measures of Sir Henry Clinton to secure the submission of South Carolina.—He sails for New York.—Lord Cornwallis succeeds to the command.—Manifestations of revolt against the Royal Authority in South Carolina.—The Baron de Kalb and Major General Gates arrive in North Carolina.—Two battalions of militia leave the enemy, and rejoin the American standard.—General Gates advances towards Camden.—Skirmish of Brigadier General Sumpter.—Gates and Cornwallis meet between Clermont and Camden.—Battle and defeat of Gates.—Losses of the American army.—Surprise and discomfiture of General Sumpter.—Retreat of the remnant of the American army to Salisbury and Hillsborough.—Their wretched condition.

THE news of the Count D'Estaing's arrival on the coast of Georgia, had given considerable alarm to Sir Henry Clinton for the safety of New York, and determined him to withdraw the forces which had been

so long idle in Rhode Island, to assist in his defensive measures. Orders were accordingly given for the evacuation of Newport, and the troops under Sir Robert Pigot marched for New York on the 27th October, 1779. The conduct of Sir Robert during his command on Rhode Island, had gained him the character of great humanity ; for he had permitted none of those predatory excursions which had occasioned so much misery in other quarters, nor were his troops suffered to commit any needless destruction or wanton cruelties upon their quitting Newport. The evacuation was made with the utmost regularity and discipline, and in a manner which did as much credit to the soldiers, for their exact obedience, as to General Pigot for the humanity which dictated his orders.

The intelligence of the repulse of the combined army from Savannah, and the subsequent departure of the Count D'Estaing's fleet from the American coast, having relieved the fears of Sir Henry Clinton for the safety of New-York, he determined to give active employment to his army, which had been considerably reinforced by arrivals from Europe, by undertaking an expedition against South Carolina. With this view he committed the command of New York to Lieutenant General Knyphausen, and embarked himself with 7000 troops on board the fleet and transports, under the direction of Admiral Arbuthnot, on the 26th of December. The weather was so tempestuous and stormy during the passage, that several of the transports were lost, and very serious injury done to the whole. One of the ordnance ships, with all her stores, was sunk, and two or three fell into the hands of the Americans ; besides which nearly all the horses belonging to the expedition perished. The fleet in this

shattered condition, arrived at the Tybee on the last of January, where the damaged ships were repaired, and again putting to sea, the fleet and army arrived at North Edisto Sound, in South Carolina, on the 10th of February. They took immediate possession of John and James Islands, and on the 11th the army was disembarked. Sir Henry was now within thirty miles of Charleston, where General Lincoln lay with a force not exceeding two thousand regulars, and the militia of the town. In two days the town might have been his; he had nothing to fear in his rear, and no difficulties in front which might not have been overcome as well in a few hours as in a month; but his approaches to the town were so slow and cautious that he did not accomplish the passage of Ashley river until the 29th of March, having been upwards of forty days marching a distance of thirty miles. During this whole period the enemy had met with little or no resistance, until the 27th, when a rencontre took place between a party of their horse, under Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton and the remnant of Baylor's Regiment of Cavalry, now under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Washington. The loss of horses which Sir Henry had suffered on the voyage, was soon supplied by others, which they found no difficulty in procuring after the army had landed. The rencontre ended advantageously for Washington, who drove the enemy back and took several prisoners, among whom was Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton of the Royal Regiment of North Carolina.

The Assembly of South Carolina, being in session at the moment of the enemy's landing, clothed Governor Rutledge with full power to adopt any measures which he and his Council might deem necessary for

the safety of the city. His first step was to call upon the militia in the usual manner to repair to the rendezvous; but little or no effect being produced by this call, a proclamation was issued requiring every inhabitant of the town, to repair to the American standard, under the penalty of having his property confiscated. This proclamation was obeyed with no greater alacrity than the previous order; very few of the militia or owners of property joined the garrison. General Lincoln had been indefatigable in his endeavour to place the town in a state of defence, and had called upon the neighbouring States for their forces, as well as upon the Spanish Governour of Havannah, to whom a promise was made of assisting the Spaniards in the reduction of St. Augustine. But when the enemy crossed the river, his whole force, regulars, militia and sailors, did not amount to 2500. Three continental ships had been sent by Congress to aid in his defence, the moment Sir Henry Clinton's design became known to them; and these with several others already in the harbour, finding it impracticable to defend the bar, took their station at Fort Moultrie, from which being driven on the 20th by Admiral Arbuthnot, they retreated to the city, and the sailors were sent on shore to the batteries. General Lincoln had considerably extended the redoubts and lines of defence which had been thrown up in the spring of 1779, so as to cross the whole Neck from Cooper to Ashley rivers. A strong abatis and ditch, covered the front of the lines, and between them deep holes were dug at short distances. In the centre was erected a strong citadel, and wherever a landing was practicable, works had been thrown up as strong as circumstances would allow them to be made. In all this work

General Lincoln had daily assisted with his own hands, that he might by his example as far as possible excite the troops to emulation.

Sir Henry Clinton crossed Ashley river on the 30th of March, and on the 31st sat down before the works of Charleston. Lieutenant Colonel Pickens, with a corps of light artillery, made a gallant attack upon the van of the enemy on their march, and the Earl of Caithness, one of Sir Henry's aids, was wounded in the skirmish. On the 1st of April, Sir Henry broke ground in several places, and in pursuance of his original intention of making regular and cautious approaches, began his first parallel about a thousand yards distant from the American lines. On the 9th, Admiral Arbuthnot determined to make an attempt to pass Fort Moultrie, which under its brave commander in 1776, had so successfully resisted a similar attempt. The command of this fort was now entrusted to Lieutenant Colonel Pinkney, an officer every way qualified for the difficult and important task.—The British Admiral, however, being favoured with a strong southerly wind and flood tide, accomplished his object with but little loss, having only 27 seamen killed and wounded, and one of his transports run aground and burnt by the crew. No other opposition intervening, the fleet anchored within the harbour ready to cooperate with the land forces. On the 10th Sir Henry having completed his first parallel, summoned the town to surrender; to which General Lincoln made the following reply: "Sixty days have been passed, since it has been known that your intentions against this town were hostile, in which, time has been afforded to abandon it; but duty and inclinations point to the propriety of supporting it to the

last extremity." While this summons was pending, General Woodford arrived at Charleston with 700 regulars, who had accomplished a march of five hundred miles in twenty-eight days. These added nothing, however, to the strength of the garrison ; for nearly the same number of North Carolina militia whose times of service expired during the siege, abandoned the works, and to their eternal disgrace marched off to their respective homes.

On the reception of General Lincoln's answer to the summons, the British batteries were opened, and an assault commenced, which was kept up almost without intermission until the 20th. The fire was returned by the besieged with equal vigour ; but their lines had suffered considerable damage from the large mortars of the enemy, whereas but little impression had been made upon the besiegers. During this interval the enemy had completed their second parallel about six hundred yards in advance of the first. The situation of General Lincoln was now become extremely critical : the enemy being in possession of the harbour and of Charleston Neck, there remained but one pass open for his retreat, namely, across the Cooper river and along its eastern bank. His own opinion was decidedly in favour of retreating, but the civil authorities were equally opposed to it : they regarded the loss of their capital with such feelings of horror, that they could not be brought to see the danger which attended their prolonged defence. The prayers and entreaties of those around him, determined General Lincoln, contrary to his better judgment, to remain. His situation, however, becoming more and more critical, another council of war was called on the 21st, which resulted in the following determi-

nation. "As a retreat would be attended with many distressing inconveniences, if not altogether impracticable for the undermentioned causes, to wit, 1. the civil authority is averse to it, and intimated in Council, that if attempted they would counteract the measure—2. It must be performed in face of the enemy, much superiour, across a river three miles broad, in large ships and vessels, the moving of which must be regulated by the wind and tide—3. Could these obstacles be surmounted, we must force our way through a considerable body of the enemy, in full possession of the passes on our route to the Santee, the only road by which we can retreat—4. Supposing us arrived at that river, new and dangerous difficulties are again to be encountered, from the want of boats to cross it, with an army wasted and worn down by action, fatigue and famine, and closely pressed by the enemy :—we advise therefore, that *offers of capitulation*, before our affairs become more critical, should be made to General Clinton, which may admit of the army's withdrawing, and afford security to the persons and property of the inhabitants." Sir Henry Clinton in the mean time, having received a reinforcement of 3000 men from New-York, and completed his second parallel, rejected the proposed capitulation, and commenced his third parallel within a hundred yards of the American works.

General Lincoln perceiving that all further resistance would be useless, if the enemy succeeded in completing this third parallel which would bring him upon the transverse ditch, determined to make an effort to intercept the progress of his work. For this purpose on the night of the 24th of April, a sortie was made by Lieutenant Colonel Hen-

derson, of the South Carolina line, at the head of 200 men, who made a bold attack upon the enemy's advance who were engaged in the work, killed several, and took eleven prisoners ; but the enemy were too strong to suffer any impediment from this sally, and no further attempt was made to obstruct their progress. On the 26th, another Council was called to determine the expediency of attempting a retreat, who were unanimously of opinion that it would be impracticable. Fort Moultrie, which had been evacuated by Lieutenant Colonel Pinckney and the greater part of the garrison, immediately after the British fleet had passed it, was now in possession of the enemy : Lord Cornwallis with a portion of the reinforcements had invested the town on the north side of Cooper river ; and the enemy were in uncontrolled possession of all the country between the Cooper and the Santee rivers.

Before we proceed with the further operations of the siege, it will be proper to notice some of the movements of the two adverse corps of cavalry ; and the attempt which had been made to keep open a passage for retreat. Governour Rutledge having left Mr. Gadsden with half the executive council in the city, had himself quitted it with the other half, for the purpose of collecting the militia and establishing a succession of posts, to secure if possible the retreat of the army at the last moment. He had established two camps, one on the Santee and the other between that and the Cooper river ; but neither his zealous exertions, nor his dictatorial power, could bring the militia to his standard in any respectable force. To aid the Governour in his efforts, General Lincoln had detached from his weak and inadequate garrison, 300

regulars, who were thought sufficient, with the cavalry and militia, to effect the object of keeping the road open for retreat. In order to counteract these efforts, as well as to complete his investiture of the town, Sir Henry Clinton detached Lieutenant Colonel Webster, with a corps of 1500 men, including Tarleton's legion and Ferguson's riflemen. Finding that the American cavalry still lay at Monk's Corner, Lieutenant Colonel Webster determined upon attempting a surprise, and breaking up the post. With this view on the night of the 14th April, he pushed forward through by paths, and reached the American videttes without discovery. Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton who led the van, was so brisk in his movements that he entered the camp as soon as the videttes, and a vigorous assault was immediately commenced. The American cavalry, though accoutred for action, were soon routed almost without resistance, and with great difficulty Lieutenant Colonel Washington and a part of his troops, saved themselves by an acquaintance with the intricacies of the country. The assailants, having thus obtained possession of the place, committed the most horrible outrages upon the defenseless inhabitants. Attempts were made by some of the British dragoons to ravish several ladies of the first respectability ; but to the honour of the officers who commanded, these wretches were promptly apprehended and punished. Our loss, in this affair was considerable : 42 wagons, nearly 200 horses, and a very large quantity of ammunition and stores of various sorts, fell into the hands of the enemy. Seven were killed and 22 wounded : most of the killed were officers, among whom was Major Bernie, of Pulaski's legion, who was wounded in several places and mangled in the

most shocking manner. The treatment which this brave but unfortunate officer experienced, even after he had sued for quarter, was barbarous and cruel in the extreme: he survived his wounds but a few hours, and died reprobating the conduct of the Americans, and execrating the wanton cruelties of the enemy. After gaining possession of this post, Lieutenant Colonel Webster established himself on the Wando, where he was soon joined by Cornwallis.

After the fatal surprise of the American cavalry at Monk's Corner, they withdrew to the north of the Santee, where they were left under the command of Lieutenant Colonel White, of Moylan's regiment.—Perceiving the extent to which the foraging parties of Lord Cornwallis, carried their search for supplies, Lieutenant Colonel White determined upon interrupting them; and for this purpose, having ordered boats to meet him at Lenew's ferry, he crossed the Santee, fell upon a foraging party of the enemy which he completely routed, captured a number of prisoners, and retired to the ferry. The boats which had been ordered there for the transportation of his corps to the opposite shore, were not in readiness: Lord Cornwallis, it appears, had obtained information of his movements from a refugee, and despatched Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton with his cavalry to intercept him. White, in momentary expectation of the means of conveyance, remained at the ferry, until Tarleton unexpectedly fell upon him: the issue was as it had been at Monk's Corner; our cavalry were totally routed, thirty or forty were killed and taken, and the rest saved themselves by swimming the river, or plunging into the swamps: Lieutenant Colonel Washington, Major Jameson and five or six privates, trusted themselves to

the stream, while Major Call and seven others boldly pushed their way through the British advance. The British prisoners which had been taken, being at this moment in a boat, crossing the river, seeing the success of their friends, rose upon the guard, and released themselves.

Sir Henry Clinton having, in the mean time, completed his third parallel, which placed the besieged entirely at his mercy, with a view to prevent an useless effusion of blood, on the 8th of May, made a second demand of General Lincoln for a surrender of the town. Lincoln, finding it impossible for the garrison to hold out, and being told by his engineer that the works might be carried by storm in a few minutes, was compelled to accept the terms offered by his adversary as far as they regarded his troops ; but hoping that he might be enabled to make better terms for the militia and inhabitants of the town, he excepted them in his answer to the summons. Sir Henry Clinton was not disposed to recede from his first demand, and the batteries on the third parallel were opened.— Under cover of the tremendous fire from these, the enemy were enabled to pass the ditch by sap, and gain the counterscarp of the outwork on its flank. Every obstacle being thus passed, and nothing remaining to prevent an immediate storm, the citizens who had at first insisted on the exceptions in their favour, now saw the necessity of submission ; and the proposition was made by General Lincoln to surrender on the terms of the British commander. This offer was accepted, and the capitulation was signed on the 11th. The terms granted by Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot do much honour to the character of these commanders, under the circumstances of the two ar-

mies : they were, that the town and fortifications, the shipping at the wharves, artillery and all other public stores should be surrendered in their present state to the besiegers—that the continental troops and sailors should remain as prisoners of war until exchanged, to be supplied while prisoners, with such food as is usual to the British troops—that the militia should be permitted to return to their respective homes as prisoners on parole, and be protected in their persons and property so long as they observed their parole—that the sick and wounded should be continued under the care of their own surgeons, and be supplied with such necessaries as are allowed to the British hospitals—that the officers of the army and navy should be permitted to keep their swords, pistols, servants and baggage, which last should not be searched, and that such of them as chose to dispose of their horses in town, should be at liberty to do so, but none to be taken out of town—that the whole garrison should at an appointed hour march out of the town to the ground between the works of the place and the canal, and there deposite their arms, the drums not to beat a British march, nor the colours to be uncased,—that the French consul, his house, papers and moveable property, should be protected and untouched, and that a proper time should be granted him to retire to any place that might be agreed upon between the British Commander and himself, he considering himself as a prisoner on parole—that all the civil officers and citizens who bore arms during the siege, should be prisoners on parole, their persons and property to be protected on the same condition granted to the militia—that the subjects of

France and Spain should have the same terms as those allowed to the French consul.

These articles of capitulation were mutually ratified by the respective commanding officers on the 12th of May, and a flag vessel appointed to go to Philadelphia with General Lincoln's despatches.

The loss of the enemy during this siege, amounted to no more than 70 killed, and 189 wounded. Our loss was 102 killed, and 157 wounded; among the former were many brave and highly regretted officers of distinction. The number of prisoners which surrendered to the British, including militia and the inhabitants of all classes amounted to 5,000;—but General Lincoln's effective force did not exceed 2,500 men; of whom an unusually large proportion were officers, owing to the circumstance of officers flocking to the standard of their country at the first call, without being able to bring with them the fourth of their regiments or companies. There were included in the capitulation, one Major General and six brigadiers; nine colonels and fourteen Lieutenant Colonels; fifteen Majors, eighty-four commanders of companies, the same number of Lieutenants, and thirty-two Sublieutenants and Ensigns. No less than 400 pieces of artillery and other ordnance, fell into the hands of the enemy, of which 314 pieces were in the city alone; three American frigates, one French frigate and a polacre of 16 guns, were also among the spoils of the enemy.

An instance of treachery was detected in the commencement of the siege, in a Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton Ballendine, who attempted to pass to the English camp, with drawings of the town and works.

He was fortunately discovered, apprehended, and punished with immediate death.

The loss of Charleston and its appendages of men and stores, was a severe blow to the Americans; and it may be doubted whether the town was worth saving at such a sacrifice. General Lincoln would undoubtedly have abandoned it to its fate, and have preserved himself in a situation to defend the state, if he had been left to pursue his own judgment; but it was impossible to listen unmoved to the entreaties of the many respectable inhabitants who flattered themselves with the expectation of assistance from their neighbouring states, and the hopes of being able to hold out against the besiegers, until all retreat was unhappily cut off. General Lincoln's reputation however, was too well established, to suffer in the estimation of Congress, or of the commander in chief, for his conduct. Their confidence in his talents and courage, was undiminished by this unfortunate blow.

The most brilliant success having so far attended the arms of Sir Henry Clinton, he determined if possible to make sure of his conquests, by reducing the whole state of South Carolina to submission. Posts were for this purpose established in various parts of the country, and Lord Cornwallis with a large body of troops moved up the north side of the Santee. Having received intelligence on his march, that some American parties were collected in the upper parts of the state, among whom was the rear of the Virginia line, consisting of 300 continentals, under Colonel Bufort, he despatched Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton with his cavalry and mounted infantry to dislodge them. Tarleton moved with great celerity, and came up with them at Nassau, in fifty-four hours,

having accomplished in that time a distance of more than 100 miles. His appearance, being wholly unexpected, produced considerable astonishment to the Americans, already much weakened by long marches, and dispirited by their recent losses. Tarleton immediately sent a flag demanding their surrender upon the same terms granted to the garrison at Charleston; but weakened as the Americans were, his offer was instantly rejected, and a combat ensued on the 29th of May, which resulted in the complete discomfiture of the Americans, 108 of whom were killed, and 150 so badly wounded as to be left on parole, and 53 prisoners. The colours, baggage, and small remnant of the artillery belonging to the southern army, fell into the hands of the victors, whose loss amounted to no more than 7 killed and 12 wounded. The continentals, finding resistance would be vain, had yielded early in the action, and sued for quarters; but Tarleton, to his eternal disgrace as an officer, continued to press upon them, and to butcher the unresisting soldiers even while lifting their hands in supplication for quarters. When arrived at Camden with the bloody trophies of his butchery, he was rewarded by Lord Cornwallis with the most extravagant encomiums on his heroism.

Sir Henry Clinton now deemed the reduction of South Carolina so complete, that he began to prepare for returning to New-York. There was scarcely a man in the state who was not either a prisoner, or a submissive subject to the British authority; and Sir Henry in his letter to the minister for American affairs boasted, and with too much truth, that the inhabitants were flocking to him from all quarters, to acknowledge their allegiance and offer their services

to his majesty. It was Sir Henry's policy, indeed, to admit of no neutrality in his new conquest; every man who did not declare himself friendly to the restoration of British authority, was regarded and treated as a rebel; nor was mere profession received as a sufficient evidence of loyalty, for those who returned to their allegiance were called upon to take an active part in support of his authority. The militia who had no families were embodied and made to serve with the royal army, while those who had families were employed to hold themselves in readiness for home defence against "*their rebel oppressors.*" The embodied militia were left so far free, however, that they were not expected to march beyond the boundaries of North Carolina and Georgia; and a service of any six months of the year exonerated them from all future calls, except for local duties.

The readiness with which the militia and inhabitants subscribed to the terms imposed upon them by their conqueror, induced Sir Henry to believe that a few months would place the whole southern continent at his feet. It had been a favourite scheme of the English ministry, and Sir Henry now exulted at the idea that he was in a fair way to accomplish it, to form a royal *nucleus* in each state, around which the tory inhabitants should gather, and form a barrier against the stream of rebellion. It was thought to be a sagacious policy to make the Americans subdue each other; and though Sir Henry had been long enough in America to find out that the friends of his Majesty, made but a contemptible portion of the people of the United States, he was still seduced by this chimera to fancy the forced submission of those who were unable to help themselves, an evi-

dence of the general return of loyal feelings. It was perhaps fortunate for the United States that the English Ministry continued obstinate in their belief, that the *rebellion* was but partial; and that those who had taken up arms *against* their sovereign, had done so only because no chance had been presented to them of fighting *for* him. They had found among the *real* adherents to the royal cause, so much fidelity of hatred to their rebellious brethren, that they were not sufficiently cautious in marking the distinction between a compulsory submission, and the spontaneous impulse of loyal feeling; and the British Generals in America, tedious as their service had been, had not yet acquired more wisdom in this respect, than their masters at home. But let us leave Sir Henry Clinton on his way to New York, for which place he sailed on the 5th of June, and attend to the movements of his successour.

Lord Cornwallis, we have seen, had arrived at Camden, by the time Tarleton returned from the massacre of Buford's party at the Waxhaws. From this place he detached a corps of light infantry to this settlement, which had not even yet submitted to the authority of the royal government. Brigadier General Rutherford, of North Carolina, receiving intelligence of the advance of this corps, collected about 800 half armed militia, with which he determined to meet and give them battle; but Lord Cornwallis chose to avoid the contest by recalling his detachment to Camden. Cornwallis having now, as he supposed, firmly established his authority at Augusta, Ninety Six, and Camden, and received the submission of the whole intervening country began to think of extending his conquests into North Carolina, when the departure

of the commander in chief, made it necessary for him to return to Charleston, leaving Lord Rawdon in command of the royal forces at Camden.

The calm which followed the success of the royal army, was not of long duration. The intelligence which Cornwallis had constantly kept up with the tories of North Carolina, and which had been such as to make him secure of the reduction of that state, at his leisure, began to assume a different character; his friends began to find themselves in the minority; and to add to his mortification it soon appeared that even the submission of South Carolina, was not so complete as he had fancied it. The inhabitants began to show their dissatisfaction by endeavouring to dispose of their property, and abandoning the state. So frequent did these instances occur that Lord Cornwallis at length found it necessary to issue a proclamation, forbidding all sales and transfers of property without a licence from himself, and strictly prohibiting all masters of vessels from transporting any persons, black or white, out of the state without a passport. In North Carolina the impatience of the tories was not to be quieted by the prudent councils of Cornwallis: in proportion as these manifestations of patriotism, increased, they become restless and refractory, and the consequence was that many of them lost the chance of displaying their loyalty by the vigilance of their republican fellow citizens. One party alone, of about 800 men, under a Colonel Bryan, succeeded in escaping to South Carolina, and joining the royal forces at Cheraw Hill.

In this state of affairs Major General, the Baron de Kalb, who had been sent by Congress to the assistance of the struggling patriots of the south,

arrived at Hillsborough, in North Carolina, with a force of 2000 continentals, composed of the Maryland and Delaware lines. His approach every where re-animates the drooping spirits of the inhabitants, and the militia collected from all quarters to join his standard—that of North Carolina, under General Caswell, and that of Virginia under Brigadier General Stevens, were embodied and ready to join him on the march. These appearances induced Lord Rawden to draw in several of his posts and contract his forces within a narrower compass. The Baron de Kalb had not proceeded far in his advance from Hillsborough before he was overtaken by Major General Gates, to whom the command of the South had been entrusted by Congress. His high military reputation ensured him a welcome reception, and his arrival was hailed with general joy, as the presage and surety of success. It produced a total change in the views of many, who had exchanged their parole for the oath of allegiance, and brought again to the American standard those who had been lulled into temporary repose by the proclamations of Clinton and Cornwallis.—Among these instances two deserve to be mentioned. Lieutenant Colonel Lyle, who had been released from his parole on professing himself a liege subject, carried off a whole battalion of militia, with their equipments to the frontiers where he joined General Sumpter: another battalion which had been appointed to escort the sick of M^r Arthur's regiment, down the Pedee, rose upon their officers, and carried the whole detachment, sick and all, prisoners into North Carolina.

These manifestations of the spirit which it was now the business of General Gates to foster and direct,

seduced him into a fatal reliance upon an incompetent force. He had been strongly solicited on his march, by Lieutenant Colonels White and Washington, (who on the fall of Charleston had retired with the remnants of their cavalry to North Carolina,) to interpose his authority in aid of their efforts to recruit the shattered regiments. But whether because he had no confidence in the aid of cavalry, or from whatever other motive, he paid no attention to their earnest solicitations, and they were left to struggle as they could, with their own unassisted efforts. Both these regiments (formerly Moylan's and Baylor's) had seen considerable service of the severest kind; their officers were brave and skilful, and though they had met with little else than misfortune and disaster, they had constantly displayed an undaunted spirit, and were undoubtedly the most useful corps attached to the Southern army. General Gates, committed also another mistake, in changing the route which the prudence of the Baron de Kalb had pointed out for the advance of his troops towards the enemy. Relying too much upon his strength, and perhaps trusting too proudly to the influence of the reputation which he had acquired, his anxiety to engage the enemy, was too impetuous to allow him to make a circuitous march, where a direct road would lead him more speedily to their sight. The Baron de Kalb had chosen a road which led through an abundant country, from which daily supplies could be readily drawn for the troops—the nearer road into which Gates turned them, led through a sterile and thinly settled country, which yielded nothing but green corn and unripe fruits. The consequence of this imprudence was that his army suffered a sudden and considerable reduction by disease, their strength

and spirits were enfeebled, and the horses suffering for the want of forage became of little use, at the moment when all the energies of his army were wanted to meet a fresh and eager foe.

General Gates, however, continued his march under all these difficulties, towards Lynch's creek, with Brigadier General Marion on his right, and Sumpter on his left. Arrived here with only the creek between him and Lord Rawdon, the latter thought it necessary to draw in his posts and retire to Camden, whence he despatched intelligence to Lord Cornwallis of his situation. Gates followed, continuing to march up the north side of the creek to Rudgely's mill, where he took post, and where for the present we shall leave him, to attend to some of the skirmishes of Marion and Sumpter.

On the 30th of July, Brigadier General Sumpter having collected the militia under Colonels Lacy, Erwine, and Neale, joined Major Davie, on the north of the Waxhaws, with a determination to attack the British post of Rocky Mount, which had been left in charge of Lieutenant Colonel Turnbull, with 150 New York volunteers and South Carolina militia, and for the purpose of concerting measures for assaulting the other posts within their reach. On the 1st August, Sumpter approached Rocky Mount, but the natural strength of the place, assisted by the bravery and skill of the officers who defended it, rendered his attempts to carry it three times unavailing. Having no artillery he drew off after the third attempt, and retired to his frontier position on the Catawba. He had lost several of his detachment in the assault and one of his bravest Colonels, Neale. Major Davie in the mean time, hearing that a part of the garrison of

Hanging Rock, returning from an excursion had halted at a neighbouring farm house, determined to fall upon them. They were three companies of Bryan's loyalists, who had eluded the vigilance of the North Carolina patriots and escaped a short time before, into South Carolina. Davie used such caution and despatch in making his approaches, that the party were completely surrounded before they knew of their danger. They were nearly all killed or wounded, and Davie brought off with him sixty horses with their trappings complete, and 100 muskets and rifles.

General Sumpter having halted a few days in his position until his troops were refreshed, and rejoined by Davie, advanced on the 6th of August to the assault of Hanging Rock. This place was held by Major Carden, with 500 men, consisting of portions of Tarleton's legion and Brown's regiment, and the remnant of Bryan's loyalists. The attack commenced against the latter, who were soon put to flight; the legion infantry were next forced, when the detachment from Brown's regiment met the assailants at the point of the bayonet. The conflict was for some time fierce and doubtful, but the enemy having lost nearly all their officers and a number of men, at length fell back, but formed anew in the centre of their position with the Legion infantry and Hamilton's regiment. Sumpter still continued vigorously to press upon them, but without effect; his militia had been thrown into disorder by their previous success, and no efforts could bring them again to close action. He retired, therefore, with the prisoners and booty already gained, and brought off his men in good order, in the face of the enemy who made no attempt to interrupt him.—Sumpter lost several of his officers and had a number

severely wounded. Marion in the mean time having collected around him all those who were friendly to the American cause, placed himself in the morasses of the Pedee and Black rivers, and made many successful attacks upon parties of the enemy who vainly sought to discover and break up his rendezvous.

On his arrival at Rudgely's mill, General Gates received information from Sumpter, that a party of the enemy was on the way from Ninety Six, with stores for the main army at Camden, and that with the assistance of artillery he could intercept them as they passed the ferry on the Wateree. The request of Sumpter was immediately complied with, and Lieutenant Colonel Woolford, of the Maryland line, was detached to his aid with four hundred men and two field pieces; and Gates with his army thus weakened prepared to advance still nearer to Camden: he had been joined here, however, by General Stevens with 700 Virginia militia, and seemed to think it a matter of course that Lord Rawdon would retire on his appearance before Camden, as he had done from Lynch's creek. But Lord Cornwallis was now there with all his disposable force, ready and eager for battle.

There seems to have been a fatality of error in all the calculations of General Gates, respecting the Southern army. He ought to have known enough of the character of Cornwallis to be assured that he would never avoid a battle, and that at the present occasion it was his interest to seek it, as the preservation of his conquests depended upon his retaining possession of Camden. It is difficult to conceive how General Gates could have remained ignorant of Cornwallis's march from Charleston to Camden, and yet nothing but such ignorance could excuse his weakening his force at the

moment when, if his object had been to force the British army to retreat, he should have called in all his skirmishing parties so as to have shown an imposing superiority. On the very night that Gates moved from Rudgley's mills, Lord Cornwallis with the view of surprising him in this position marched out from Camden. Gates had previously issued orders, being the result of a conference with his general officers, fixing the line of march and order of battle. The troops were directed to be ready to march at 10 o'clock on the night of the 15th of August, with Colonel Armand's small squadron of cavalry in advance, Colonel Porterfield's light infantry on the right flank of Armand, and Major Armstrong's infantry on the left, both to be in Indian file, two hundred yards from the road. The first and second Maryland Brigades, formed the front division, after them the two divisions of North Carolina and Virginia, and the volunteer cavalry formed the rear guard. The whole army at this moment, including officers, amounted to no more than 3663, of which only about 970 infantry and cavalry, were continentals. Cornwallis's force was much inferior in numbers, being only about 2000, infantry and cavalry, but the greater part of them were well disciplined regulars.

The advanced corps of the two armies met some hours before day-light on the morning of the 16th, about midway between the two posts from which they had both set out, at the same hour, the evening before. Armand's legionary corps were almost instantly thrown into confusion, and driven back upon the leading Maryland regiment, which produced some unavoidable disorder. The two flanking corps of light infantry, however, under Porterfield and Armstrong

gallantly opposed the progress of the enemy's van ; and some prisoners having been taken on both sides, the two Generals for the first time learned the proximity of their armies ; both immediately halted, neither being willing to risk a battle in the dark. The ground was extremely unfavourable for General Gates ; as the deep swamps on both sides of him, prevented his deriving any advantage from his great superiority, by extending his line of attack ; while on the other hand it enabled Cornwallis to present as bold a front with his inferior force as he could have done with double his numbers. The pause was employed by both Generals in preparing for the appearance of light. The British army displayed in one line occupying the whole ground between the swamps, the right under Lieutenant Colonel Webster, and the left under Lord Rawdon ; in front of the line Lieutenant McLeod of the artillery was posted with two 6 and two 3 pounders. The reserve, with two 6 pounders, took post in a second line, one half opposite the centre of each wing ; and the cavalry held the road.—General Gates rather injudiciously made a change in the original disposition of his troops. General Gist with the second Maryland brigade and the Delaware regiment took the right ; General Caswell with the North Carolina militia, the centre ; and General Stevens with the Virginia militia took the left, being thus opposed to the best troops of the enemy under Webster. The first Maryland brigade, under General Smallwood, formed the reserve ; the artillery was divided among the several brigades. The Baron de Kalb to whom the line of battle had been entrusted, took post on the right, and General Gates, on the road between the reserve and the front line.

The injudicious advance of our left which took place about day light, was instantly observed by the enemy, and Colonel Webster was ordered to charge upon them with his veterans; the artillery from our centre was at the same time opened and the action soon became general. Stevens's militia, as ought to have been foreseen and expected, being unable to stand against the shock of Webster's vigorous assault, after one fire, threw down their arms, and took to flight; and the North Carolina brigade in our centre soon followed their example. All attempts to rally these cowardly fugitives, by their respective Generals, and Gates in person, proved ineffectual; they continued to run, nor did they stop until they had reached a place of ignominious safety. The second Maryland brigade and the Delaware regiment, had now to sustain the whole force of the action; and most gallantly was it sustained for a considerable time. Lieutenant Colonel Howard, who commanded Williams's regiment, and who was in the van of our right, several times drove in the enemy under Lord Rawdon. De Kalb and Gist were pushing on with evident advantage, when the shameful flight of the militia opposed to the enemy's right, enabled Webster to bring his whole corps against the reserve of Smallwood, who came up to take the place of the fugitives. Three times Smallwood was compelled to give ground, and three times returned to the charge with desperate valour, until Dixon's regiment of North Carolinians, who for a time seemed resolved to wipe away the stain from their flying countrymen, at last followed their example, and compelled the Marylanders to quit the unequal contest: De Kalb in the mean time gallantly supported the right and made a desperate charge with

the bayonet, in which he gained a decided superiority. But Lord Cornwallis, now discovering our entire want of cavalry, ordered Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton to make a charge, while his whole force was concentrated against our brave troops on the right. The consequence was decisive; the gallant Marylanders, and the heroick regiment of Delaware, were compelled after doing all that soldiers could do, to save themselves as they could. The enemy pursued them for more than twenty miles from the field of action, and the defeat was in every respect complete.

Our loss on this occasion was terrible. The brave De Kalb at the head of the Marylanders, fell, covered with wounds, which he survived only a few days. As he fell, one of his aids, Lieutenant Colonel de Buysson, caught him in his arms, to save him from the uplifted bayonets of the enemy, which this heroick young man received in his own body. In his dying moments, he dictated a letter to General Smallwood, the worthy successor to his command, in which he expressed the most ardent affection for the Americans and their cause, praised the bravery of the Maryland and Delaware troops, which he said, had even extorted the admiration of the enemy, and declared the satisfaction which he felt at having fallen in such a cause. Lieutenant Colonel Porterfield was also mortally wounded, in the brave stand which he had made after the dastardly flight of Armand's corps, as was also Brigadier General Gregory. Brigadier General Rutherford, of the North Carolina militia, was wounded, and unable to rally his troops, surrendered to a party of the pursuers; and Major Thomas Pinkney, one of General Gates's aids was also

wounded and taken prisoner. Besides these, our army had to lament the loss of many excellent officers. The field of battle, the road and the swamps for some distance, were covered with the wounded and slain. The Delaware regiment was literally cut to pieces, less than two companies being left; and more than a third of the continentals were killed and wounded. Dixon's North Carolina regiment, which deserves the more praise as being the only one out of two brigades that stood the fight, suffered also very severely, having lost nearly 100 killed and wounded, and more than 300 taken. The whole of our artillery, nearly 200 wagons, a large quantity of military stores and baggage, fell into the hands of the enemy. The British state their loss in killed and wounded, including 11 missing, to be no more than 324; but it is probable, from the extreme severity of the action, and the brave stand of our troops on the side of Lord Rawdon, that they have estimated it considerably below the reality.

Complete as was the defeat and dispersion of our army, the Maryland and Delaware troops gained imperishable laurels for their conduct. General Gist, Colonel Otho H. Williams, the Deputy Adjutant General, Lieutenant Colonel John E. Howard, all of Maryland, and Captain Kirkwood, almost the only officer left of the Delaware regiment, were eminently conspicuous throughout the action, for the cool and determined bravery, zeal and skill, which they displayed. Nor is it possible to withhold from Colonel Dixon the most unqualified applause.

In the meantime, General Sumpter, having been joined by the detachment under Lieutenant Colonel Woolford, completely succeeded in his attempt

against the British convoy, and learning soon afterwards the defeat of Gates, took post at the Catawba Fords where he supposed himself secure. Cornwallis, however, had received information of his movements and situation, and immediately after the battle of the 16th, he detached Colonel Tarleton with 380 of his legion, who overtook and effectually surprised Sumpter, who on the morning of the 18th, had changed his position, and advanced about eight miles beyond Fishing Creek, where he halted and imprudently suffered his men to stack their arms, and indulge themselves in amusement or repose. Tarleton came up with him in this unguarded situation about noon; and the consequence, as might have been looked for, was an indiscriminate slaughter and rout, 150 of Sumpter's men were killed on the spot, and 300 taken prisoners; he himself fortunately escaped with the remnant of his force to the amount of 350 men. Two brass pieces were left on the field, all the British prisoners, and a number of wagons. It is worthy of remark, that Tarleton performed this exploit with only half the force he had set out with, having left the other half on the road too much exhausted and fatigued, to proceed with the rash celerity and impetuosity which characterised all his movements. Nothing but the improvidence of General Sumpter, upon which he had certainly no right to calculate, could have saved Tarleton from the fate which such temerity deserved.

General Gates, Smallwood and Gist, with the small shattered remnants of their regulars, had arrived on the 17th and 18th, at Charlotte, eighty miles from the scene of action. Here Armand's flying cavalry had halted, and besides these, Major Davie was es-

tablished here with his partizan corps of horse, and about 100 regular infantry. On the 19th, they heard of Sumpter's defeat, and it was deemed adviseable by a council of officers to make a further retreat to Salisbury, which was effected under an accumulation of wretchedness and suffering never exceeded. Smallwood commanded the retreat to Salisbury, where he had halted only a few days before he received orders from General Gates to continue his march to Hillsborough, at which place this wretched army arrived on the 6th of September. At this place, being 180 miles distant from Camden, General Gates determined to collect his scattered forces, and wait such reinforcements as should enable him again to face his adversary. Thus was the conqueror of Burgoyne, whose appearance in the south was hailed with universal gratulations, and who fancied that his name alone, would compel Cornwallis to hide his head in terror, who pressed on, regardless alike of the strength or comforts of his army, in the false expectation of driving the enemy before him without resistance, most cruelly disappointed—his army, elate with the hopes of victory under his guidance, cut to pieces—the friends of liberty, who had every where raised their drooping heads at his approach, sunk in utter despair. Military reputation is even a more delicate commodity than female chastity. It is often acquired without merit, and as often lost without justice: a breath gives it, and a whisper takes it away. That the conduct of General Gates previous to the fatal battle of the 16th, was full of blame, will hardly be denied. He trusted too much to himself, and too easily spurned the advice of those who merited his attention; but here the blame stops, his conduct in

the battle was worthy the hero of Saratoga, and his efforts to retrieve his original errors were unceasing ; but it was too late, and hard as was his fate in the result, it was perhaps not worse than his unadvised rashness merited. This defeat was the death-blow to the confidence which the people of the south had reposed in General Gates, and measures were immediately taken by those who had not lost all hopes of recovering their conquered country, to represent their wishes to Congress and the commander in Chief for his removal from the command. For the present, however, we must leave the General and his crippled army at Hillsborough, and attend to the affairs of the north.

CHAPTER XIV.

Events of 1780 continued.—Proceedings of Congress—their reply to the communications of the French minister.—Second communication from the Minister.—Congress resolve to issue a new species of paper bills.—They fix the value of loan certificates.—Situation of the American army at Morristown.—Their distresses relieved by the people of Jersey.—Severity of the winter.—Lord Stirling makes an unsuccessful attempt on Staten Island.—Mutiny in the American army.—Expedition of the royal army into Jersey.—Destruction committed at Connecticut Farms.—Murder of Mrs. Caldwell.—The enemy move towards Springfield—but retire to Elizabeth Town without an attack.—Sir Henry Clinton arrives from Charleston, sends over reinforcements, and the army a second time move upon Springfield, which they destroy.—Brave conduct of the American troops.—The enemy evacuate New-Jersey, and return to Staten Island.—Arrival of the Count De Rochambeau, and a French fleet at Newport.—Joy of the citizens.—Washington orders the white and black cockade to be united.—Admiral Graves arrives at New-York with reinforcements to the fleet and army.—The enemy project an attack against Rhode Island.—General Wayne is detached to Bergen Neck.—Washington's situation at Orange town—his letters to Governour Reed.—Treachery of Arnold.—Capture, trial and execution of Major Andre, a British spy.—Arnold arrives at New-York, and receives the reward of his treachery.—Makes an insolent address to the Americans.—Resolution of Congress in favour of the three New-York militia men.—Proposition of Washington for an exchange of prisoners.—Congress resolve to erect a monument to the memory of the Baron de Kulb.—Sir Henry Clinton sends reinforcements to the south.—Congress order a Court Martial on General Gates.—General Greene appointed to the command of the south.—Death of the Chevalier de Ternay.

AFTER what we have seen, the following answer of Congress to the communications of the Chevalier

de la Luzerne, will appear somewhat extraordinary. It was resolved on the 31st of January, "that Congress entertain the most grateful sense of the unremitting attention given to the interests of the United States by their illustrious ally, and consider the communications made to them by his minister, as equally wise and interesting—that the confidence which they repose in his Majesty, in consequence of his so generously interesting himself in the affairs of these United States, and of the wisdom and magnanimity of his councils, determines them to give the most perfect information in their power, of their resources, views, and expectations—that to this end they state as follows: that the United States have expectations on which they can *rely with confidence*, of bringing into the field next campaign, an army of 25,000 effective men, exclusive of commissioned officers; that this army can be reinforced by militia, so as to be in force sufficient for any enterprise against the posts occupied by the enemy within the United States; that supplies of provision for the army in its greatest number, can certainly be obtained within the United States, and the Congress with the cooperation of the several states, can take effectual measures for procuring them in such manner, as that no operation will be impeded; that provisions also for such of the forces of his most Christian Majesty, as may be employed in conjunction or cooperation with those of the United States, can be procured under the direction of Congress, and such provisions shall be laid up in magazines, agreeably to such instructions as his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary shall give, and the magazines shall be put under the direction of the agent of the marine of France; that Congress rely on the

contributions of the states by taxes, and on monies to be raised by internal loans for the pay of the army; that supplies of clothing, tents, arms and war-like stores, must be principally obtained from foreign nations; and the United States must rely principally on the assistance of their ally for them; but every other mean for procuring them is already taken, and will be prosecuted with the greatest diligence; that the United States with the assistance of a competent naval force would willingly, during the next campaign, carry on the most vigorous offensive operations against the enemy, in all the posts occupied by them within the United States—that without such naval force, little more can be attempted by them than straightening the quarters of the enemy, and covering the interior parts of the country; that their forces must be disposed in such manner as to oppose the enemy with the greatest effect, wherever their most considerable operations may be directed; that at present the southern states seem to be their object, and their design to establish themselves in one or more of them, but their superiority at sea over the United States, enables them to change their object and operations with great facility, while those of the United States are rendered difficult by the great extent of country they have to defend. That Congress are happy to find that his most Christian Majesty gives no credit to the suggestions of the British cabinet, relative to the dispositions of the United States, or any of them, to enter into treaties of accommodation with Great Britain, and wish his Majesty and all the powers of Europe to be assured, that such suggestions are insidious and without foundation.—That it will appear by the constitutions and other publick acts of the se-

veral states, that the citizens of the United States, possessed of arms, possessed of freedom, possessed of political power to create and direct their magistrates as they think proper, are united in their determinations to secure to themselves and their posterity the blessings of liberty, by supporting the independence of their government, and observing their treaties and publick engagements, with immoveable firmness and fidelity; and the Congress assure his Majesty, that should any individual in America be found base enough to show the least disposition for persuading the people to the contrary, such individual would instantly lose all power of effecting his purpose, by forfeiting the confidence and esteem of the people."

A second communication was made by his Excellency to Congress, through their committee on the 2d February, to the following effect. That his Majesty had heard with great satisfaction of the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain, and most earnestly wished for the alliance, to render which more certain, his Majesty had commanded him to communicate certain articles to Congress, on which it was essential that they should explain themselves with precision, as they were deemed of importance to the interests of his Catholick Majesty. These articles were: 1st. A precise and invariable boundary to the United States. 2d. The exclusive navigation of the river Mississippi. 3d. The possession of the Floridas. 4th. The lands on the eastern side of the Mississippi. That his Catholick Majesty believed the United States would extend their western boundaries no further than the limits prescribed in 1763—that it was his idea, that the United States would not contend

for the right of navigating the Mississippi, inasmuch as they hold no territory on that river—that as his Majesty would probably conquer the Floridas during the present war, he trusted there would be no cause of dispute left concerning them, between Spain and the United States—and that on the 4th article, his Catholick majesty considered, that as the lands lying on the east side of the Mississippi, whereon settlements were prohibited by the proclamation of 1763, were possessions of the crown of Great Britain, and therefore proper objects of conquest by Spain, and might probably be conquered during the present war, and that as the United States held no possession of these territories before the war, and had no foundation for a claim in the right of their former sovereign, it would be adviseable to restrain the southern states from making any settlements or conquests therein. The Minister added that the king his master, united by blood to his Catholick Majesty, and by treaties of alliance to the United States, was extremely desirous of seeing a lasting friendship between the two parties; and that he cannot consider the independence of the United States as secure, until this friendship shall be established.

The difficulty of obtaining money from the several states for carrying on the war, forced Congress to the expedient of calling upon them for supplies of provision and forage in lieu of it; but this species of taxation was found to be so partial in its operation, so difficult of execution, and so inconvenient, that it was abandoned before any effect was produced from it, and another experiment adopted. This was to call in by taxes, all the old emission of paper, to the amount of 200 millions of dollars, and issue in new

paper one twentieth of that sum, under the guarantee of the several states. Four tenths of these new bills were to be subject to the order of Congress, and the remaining six tenths to that of the several states ; to be redeemable in specie within six years, and to bear an interest of 5 per cent. They were to be made receivable in the payment of taxes, at the rate of specie, whereas the old bills in circulation were only receivable at the rate of forty for one, notwithstanding the assurances of Congress, only a few months before, and the boasted honour and good faith of republicks.

Congress expected by these resolutions, to cancel the old bills, and give a fixed value to the currency ; besides supplying the several states with the means of furnishing the army supplies required of them, and themselves with money for carrying on the war. But none of these good effects were produced ; only a few of the states complied with the requisitions, and the small amount of new paper issued, (for its emission was made to depend on the proportions of the old, that came in forty to one,) added but little to the means which their exigencies demanded.

On the 20th of March they fixed the value of loan certificates from September 1777 to this time, giving such a rate to their paper, as to secure to the lender the return of his money, and to free the publick from a debt for which they had recieved no value. They recommended also to the several states a revision of their laws concerning the tender of continental bills in the discharge of debts, with a view to such an amendment of them as should be thought just in the present state of the currency.

The beginning of the present year found the army of Washington huddled at Morristown, and suffering

all the hardships, privations and wants, which had once before attended them in their winter quarters at Valley Forge. The cold was more intense than it had ever been known to be before in this climate, within the memory of the oldest inhabitant. A few days after Sir Henry Clinton had sailed for the south, the navigation was entirely closed, and the communication to New-York and to its adjacent islands, across the ice was as safe, as if they had formed a part of the main land. Carriages and wagons of the heaviest weight could be every where transported across the North River, and the eastern channels, as upon a solid bridge; and by the middle of January, snows had fallen to the depth of several feet. So unusual indeed was the severity of this winter, that it has to this day borne the distinctive epithet of the *hard winter*. The force which Sir Henry Clinton had left in New-York, of regulars, was so small, that the royal Generals became alarmed at the facility thus opened to an attack, and every means were speedily taken to embody corps of defence, from all orders and classes of people in the city; the whole, however, did not amount to more than 6000 men—a force very inadequate to the protection of the city and its dependencies, if Washington had been in a situation to profit by the advantages which nature offered to him. But his army was reduced almost to dissolution. He had neither provision of any kind, nor money to purchase them; and the *credit* of Congress was so far exhausted, that it would procure him nothing. For many days, the soldiers were compelled to share the scanty food of the horses.

In this situation, Washington found himself compelled to declare to the civil authorities of Jersey,

that unless the inhabitants would afford their aid, he should be reduced to the alternative of disbanding his army, or of granting them permission to supply themselves with food wherever they could find it. The magistracy, with a promptitude which does them infinite credit, adopted the necessary measures to comply with the General's requisitions; and the proportions of bread stuffs and cattle, allotted to each county were furnished with a punctuality and readiness that does equal honour to the people. But to the disgrace of the soldiers, this generous and patriotick effort to relieve them, when despair stared them in the face, was so soon forgotten, that before the end of January, we find the following reproach inserted in general orders. "The General is astonished and mortified, that notwithstanding the last order, the inhabitants in the vicinity of the camp, are absolutely a prey to the plundering and licentious spirit of the soldiery. From daily complaints and a formal representation of the magistrates, a night scarcely passes, without gangs of soldiers going out of camp, and committing every species of robbery, depredation, and the greatest personal insult. These violences are committed on the persons and property of those, who, on a late alarming occasion for the want of provision, manifested the warmest attachment to the army, by affording it the most generous and plentiful relief."

This licentious spirit of the soldiery, which no efforts of Washington could restrain, and which occasionally broke out in the perpetration of enormities which no degree of privation could excuse, was at once the cause of their repeated sufferings, and the apology of the people for the reluctance so often manifested in affording the means of relief within their

power. It sufficiently accounts for, if it does not wholly excuse, that general appearance of unfriendliness to the cause of independence, even among those whose all was at hazard in the issue of our struggle. No discrimination was made by the soldiers in their depredations, between those who were ready to divide with them their last loaf, and those who from avarice or disaffection withheld their plentiful stores. It cannot be wonderful, then, that our armies were so often without bread in the midst of a country where it abounded.

Thus were the two northern armies situated during the first months of the year 1780, the large detachments sent from both to the south, having reduced them to the necessity of confining their operations to the defence of their respective stations. Lord Stirling, indeed, attempted an expedition to Staten Island, with the troops of his division about the middle of January; but it resulted in disappointment, for the ice, which had afforded him the easy means of invasion, gave to the enemy also such facilities of drawing reinforcements from New-York, that his lordship was glad to take the advantage of the night, and retreat without having effected any thing.

Towards the beginning of April, the situation of the commander in chief assumed a much more alarming appearance, than it had worn under all the calamities of the winter. A dissatisfaction began to manifest itself among the troops, which threatened a general mutiny. They had suffered without complaint, all the hardships which could arise from want of food and want of clothing, through the severest winter ever experienced; and now when their distresses from these causes were at an end, and when

the most they could suffer would be a temporary want of *money*, their complaints became loud and uncontrollable. On the 25th of May, two of the regiments broke out into open mutiny; but fortunately the officers were enabled by their active exertions, by alternate entreaty and expostulation, to convince them of the folly and absurdity of resorting to such means for redress, where nothing but time and patience could bring a remedy to their grievances. After a few hours of murmuring, they retired quietly to their huts.

A few days before this occurrence took place, the Marquis de la Fayette arrived from France, and presented himself at head quarters, much to the joy and consolation of Washington, who had conceived an affection for him, little short of paternal. The absence of the Marquis had not diminished the ardour which first brought him to our shores, nor lessened his zeal in the cause of American independence. His stay in France had been wholly occupied in endeavours to promote the interests of the United States; nor had they been without success, for he was the bearer of the welcome tidings from the French court, that a fleet and army would soon follow him to America, which his most Christian Majesty had with great prudence and propriety placed entirely under the control of Washington, by making him Lieutenant General of his forces, and Vice-Admiral of the White Flag. The Marquis was received by Congress with the most marked satisfaction, and by the people every where with affectionate respect. On the 19th of May, a committee of Congress, who had been directed personally to inquire into the grievances and distresses of the American army, having reported that the pay

of the soldiers had been suffered to accumulate, without liquidation for several months, they resolved to draw bills of exchange on their two ministers at the courts of France and Spain, for 25,000 dollars each, at 60 days sight, as the speediest means of procuring the money, without which they found it would be difficult to bring the army into the field.

The enemy remained quiet at New York, until the 6th of June, when the four Generals Knyphausen, Robertson, Tryon and Sterling, passed over by night, with their whole force to Elizabethtown Point, in New-Jersey. It is difficult to conceive with what design that movement was made by the royal General. If their only object had been, as it was stated, to attack some of Washington's advanced posts, a fourth of the number would have sufficed; or if their object was to drive the American General from Morristown, their subsequent abandonment of that object was still more extraordinary. They reached Elizabethtown, early on the morning of the 7th and advanced, without offering injury to the town or inhabitants, five miles further to Connecticut Farms. General Sterling who commanded the advance was wounded in the knee, by one of Colonel Dayton's guard, whom he had posted to watch the movements of the enemy. Arrived at Connecticut Farms, a small settlement, containing about a dozen houses, and a church, they burnt the whole. At this place there resided, a presbyterian minister, by the name of Caldwell, who had taken a conspicuous part in the cause of freedom, and who had of course incurred the deep displeasure of the royal Generals; supposing, however, that their resentment would be confined to himself, and that his family would be safe, on the enemy's approach, he

hastily withdrew, and left his wife and children to their mercy. Colonel Dayton had previously withdrawn the militia from the place, that there might be no pretext for enormities ; but the British soldiers, in the American war, did not wait for pretexts to be cruel. Mrs. Caldwell was shot in the midst of her children, by a villain, who walked up to the window of the room in which she was sitting, and took deliberate aim with his musket. This atrocious act was attempted to be excused, as an *accident*, as a *random* shot ; but why should it have been necessary to shoot at all ? No opposition was made in the settlement ; not a militiaman remained in it ; there was no concealed firing from the houses, which has sometimes served as an excuse. No doubt then remains of the murder having been committed by design, but whether the soldier was instigated by his own savage disposition, or the prospect of favour from his superiours, can be known only to the searcher of hearts.

From Connecticut Farms, the enemy, marched on towards Springfield, on the road to which Colonel Dayton, had posted his handful of militia, at a narrow pass, where he disputed the passage for some time with great bravery. General Maxwell with a few continentals, and the militia that collected as the enemy were marching through the country, had posted himself at the bridge near Springfield, where his appearance was so imposing that the enemy halted at sight of him and remained all day upon their arms. General Maxwell's party kept up a firing upon them during the day, but they showed no disposition for action, notwithstanding their great superiority of numbers ; and at night returned to Elizabethtown. On the following morning, as soon as the Americans per-

ceived their flight, they pursued with as much eagerness and confidence, as if they had been really equal to a contest with them. Some slight skirmishes took place, and the enemy were considerably annoyed all the way to Elizabethtown.

The cause of General Knyphausen's retiring without attacking Springfield, is said to have been the intelligence received that Washington had detached a brigade from Morristown, for the support of Maxwell; but this brigade united to Maxwell's force, would not have made him more than half equal to the royal force, and certainly such intelligence could be no excuse for his remaining idle nearly a whole day, before a force less than the fourth of his own strength. It is more probable that some disagreement occurred among the four Generals, and that the Hessian General was compelled to give up his own opinion to the suggestion of the other three, who were perhaps deceived in their anticipations with regard to the militia of Jersey. These, enraged at the conduct of the enemy at the Farms, had turned out with considerable spirit, and opposed their march at every opportunity. They conducted themselves so well towards the invaders, that Washington complimented them highly in general orders, and took distinguished notice of Colonel Dayton, whose small corps had kept up a continual firing upon the enemy from the moment of their debarkation to their arrival at the bridge opposite Maxwell's brigade.

The royal army remained at Elizabethtown, until the arrival of Sir Henry Clinton from his successful expedition to the South. Instead of recalling them, he gave orders for reinforcements to be sent over, while at the same time, with a view to draw off the attention of the American commander, he embarked a number

of troops on board the shipping, and made such movements as indicated an attempt upon the strong posts of the North River. This had the desired effect upon Washington, for the safety of West Point was of the utmost importance to his future operations, and on the 20th, he moved slowly towards that post with the whole of his army, except about 700 men with the horse, which he left behind, under the command of General Greene. The reinforcements landed on the evening of the 22d June, and on the 23d the enemy again moved from Elizabethtown, towards Springfield. The troops upon which General Greene had to depend for its defence, were so scattered that he had scarcely time to collect them before the enemy appeared, and commenced a cannonade on each side of the town. He had so disposed his force as to secure a retreat in case of necessity: Colonel Angell, with his regiment and one piece of artillery, was posted at the bridge in front of the town: at the second bridge Colonel Shrieve was stationed with his regiment, to cover the retreat of the first; Major Lee, with the dragoons and pickets, and Colonel Ogden's regiment to support them, at Little Bridge, on the Vauxhall road: the remainder of Maxwell's and Stark's brigades were posted on the hills. The enemy advanced in two columns, the right by the Vauxhall road, where Lee met them and disputed the passage of the bridge with great bravery, but was compelled at length to retire with his party upon the enemy's fording the river. The left column of the enemy at the same moment, advancing on the main road, began their attack on Colonel Angell, who after an obstinate resistance of forty minutes, during which the action was very severe, was forced back upon Colonel Shrieve, at the

second bridge. Here again they encountered a serious opposition, but their numbers were so overwhelming, that it was thought advisable to call back Colonel Shrieve to the brigade. General Greene had at this time taken a position on the high grounds, about a mile above the town, where he waited for the enemy to offer general battle; but having gained the town, and set fire to the houses, their object was accomplished, and they returned again to Elizabethtown. The whole village was burned with the exception of four houses; but they paid dearly for their inglorious expedition. The militia behaved with the gallantry, and firmness of veterans, and pursued the retreating enemy, as before, until they entered Elizabethtown. They remained but a few hours here, passing on to Elizabethtown Point, and thence on the same night to Staten Island, as if afraid of the vengeance which had roused the country against them.

Thus terminated, for the season, the enterprises of the enemy against New Jersey, in which they seem to have moved with the caution of robbers, determined to enter into no contest which promised a trial of their strength. If they had nothing further in view, in their second exploit, than the conflagration of Springfield, having attained it, they may be called a victorious army, but the victory was one of which they dared not boast, and which only served to convince them, that the reputed misfortunes of our southern army, the long sufferings and hardships of that in the north, and the unceasing cruelties and oppressions practised upon the people every where, so far from having sunk their minds into an abject and willing embrace of vassalage, as had been expected, had only roused them to greater vigour of exertions, and awak-

ened them to a more determined resistance. This spirit in the American soldiers and people, was hailed by their commander, as the presage of future success : he seized the propitious moment to impress with his own hopes, and to cherish by every means in his power their growing zeal. The endeavours of Washington were seconded by Congress, who wrote impressive letters to the governments of the several states, calling upon them, in terms well calculated to excite the emulation of their respective citizens, to furnish their quotas and enable the commander in chief by one decisive blow, to finish the long contest, in the final establishment of independence. A new spirit seemed to animate every bosom, or rather there appeared to be a revival of the feelings of 1776. In this race of patriotism, the ladies of Philadelphia stepped forth in the foremost ranks. They formed an association for the purpose of raising by private subscription, a fund for the service of the army, and so active and assiduous were their exertions, that their collections amounted to a considerable sum, which they themselves presented to the soldiers. Their example was followed in other states, and the people every where, ashamed of the indifference with which they had looked upon the dangers and distresses of their country seemed resolved no longer to withhold the assistance it was in their power to give.

In the midst of these animating prospects, the succours from France which had been promised through the Marquis de la Fayette, arrived at Rhode Island. The fleet under the command of the Chevalier de Ternay, consisted of two ships of 80 guns, one of 74, four of 64, two frigates of 40, and a cutter of 20, besides a bomb and hospital ship, and 32 transports ;

the land forces, about 6000 men, were under the command of Lieutenant General Count de Rochambeau. Their arrival at Newport, on the 10th of July, was greeted by the citizens with every demonstration of joy; the town was illuminated, and when the troops landed on the 11th, they were met by Major General Heath, and placed in possession of the posts and batteries on the island. A committee of the General Assembly of the state, a few days afterwards, waited upon the Admiral and Lieutenant General, with compliments and congratulations on their arrival. The Count Rochambeau gave them the glad intelligence, that his army was but the vanguard of a much larger force, which it was the intention of his Christian Majesty to send to the aid of his allies. Of his own troops he said, they were under the strictest discipline, and as they would be under the orders of Washington, they would live with the Americans as brethren, and that as brethren their lives and his own should be devoted to their service. On the same day, the Marquis de la Fayette arrived from head quarters with the congratulations of Washington, and information to the Count concerning the movements of the enemy. Washington had prepared the army for the most friendly reception of the allies, by general orders issued a few days previous to their arrival, in which he spoke of their generosity and magnanimity, and concluded with recommending that the officers should unite the white and black in their cockades.

The arrival of the French fleet was followed, in a few days, by the arrival of Admiral Graves at New-York from England, with six sail of the line, which with those already there under Admiral Arbuthnot, gave so decided a superiority to the English, that they

determined to enter immediately upon offensive operations, in conjunction with the army. They proceeded with this view to Rhode Island; but the French had been so expeditious in placing the fortifications in a state of defence, that an attack upon them by sea was deemed impracticable, and Sir Henry Clinton concluded upon a joint attack by sea and land. The Admiral expressed objections to this measure, but having at length given his reluctant concurrence, 6000 men were embarked, and the transports proceeded as far as Huntington Bay. Here the mutual jealousies of the two commanders broke out into open disagreement; their measures were mutually canvassed with asperity and warmth of temper, and it appeared evident that neither was inclined to enter heartily into the schemes of the other. Thus situated, Sir Henry Clinton thought it adviseable to abandon his design upon Rhode Island, and return with his troops to New York; a determination which in the end proved most fortunate for him, as Washington intending to profit by his absence, had crossed the North River with a large body of troops, and advanced as far as Kingsbridge. Nor did this movement of the American commander at all interfere with the defences of Rhode Island; for on the first rumour of a design on the part of the enemy to attack it, the militia advanced in considerable numbers to its succour, and it is probable Sir Henry would have met with a severe disappointment if he had proceeded in his design.

The sudden return of Sir Henry with his army to New York, frustrated Washington's intention, and compelled him to halt. He had in the mean time, detached General Wayne, with two Pennsylvania brigades, and Moyland's regiment of dragoons, to bring

off a number of cattle and horses from Bergen Neck, and to destroy a block house which had been erected there by a party of refugees. Wayne reached the place on the 20th July, and having charged the cavalry with the task of driving off the stock, and made such dispositions as to ensure a safe retreat, proceeded to attack the block house. He found it encircled with an abbatis and stockade, which made the storming it a dangerous enterprise, and he therefore opened his field pieces upon it ; but they were too light to produce any effect. A galling fire, in the mean time, was kept up from the house, which determined two of the regiments rashly to adventure a storm. They rushed boldly through the abbatis, but finding it impracticable to force an entrance, they were obliged to retire with considerable loss ; and the General returned with only half his object accomplished.

When Washington formed the design of attacking New-York, he seemed desirous that General Arnold should take a conspicuous part in the command ; but that unfortunate victim of dissipation, vanity and extravagance, had already entered into that correspondence with the enemy, which soon ended in open perfidy and treason of the most unpardonable nature. The integrity of Washington's own heart, made him slow to perceive or suspect the treachery of others, and when Arnold feigned an indisposition that would disqualify him for the activity which such a command required, and solicited to be sent to West Point, the key to all our strength on the North River, Washington did not hesitate to excuse him from the one command, and confer upon him the other. Washington, in the mean time, stopped in the execution of his project against New-York, as has been said, retired with the

army to Orangetown. Here he soon began to experience a renewal of those difficulties which had so nearly brought his army to dissolution during the winter.—Notwithstanding the patriotick spirit which so lately blazed forth in every part of the union, his army was still without food, and without the reinforcements promised. On the 20th of August, he thus wrote to the Governour of Pennsylvania—"With every exertion I can scarcely keep the army in this camp, entirely continental, fed from day to day. It is mortifying that we should not, at this advanced period of the campaign, have magazines of provisions, for even one half of the men necessary for our intended operations. I have every assurance from the French land and sea commanders, that the second division may, without some very serious accident, be daily expected. Should we, upon the arrival of this reinforcement, be found (after all our promises of a cooperating force) deficient in men, provisions, and every other essential, your excellency can easily perceive what will be the opinion of our allies, and of all the world, and what will be the consequences in the deranged, distracted state of our affairs."—

"To me it will appear miraculous, if our affairs can maintain themselves much longer, in their present train. If either the *temper* or the resources of the country, will not admit of an alteration, we may soon expect to be reduced to the humiliating condition of seeing the cause of America, held up in America, by foreign arms. It may easily be shown, that all the misfortunes we have met with in the military line, are to be attributed to short enlistments. A great part of the embarrassments in the civil, proceed from the same source. The derangement of our finances is essenti-

ally to be ascribed to it. The expenses of the war, and the paper emissions, have been greatly multiplied by it. We have had, a great part of the time, two sets of men, to feed and pay, the discharged men going home, and the levies coming in. The difficulties and cost of conveying men, have increased at every successive attempt, till among the present levies, we find there are some, who have received 150 dollars in specie, for five months service, while our officers are reduced to the disgraceful necessity of performing the duties of drill sergeants to them. The frequent calls upon the militia have also interrupted the cultivation of their land, and of course have lessened the quantity of the produce, occasioned a scarcity, and enhanced the prices. In an army so unstable as ours, order and economy have been impracticable. The discontent of the troops have been gradually matured to a dangerous extremity. Something satisfactory must be done, or the army must cease to exist, at the end of the campaign; or it will exhibit an example of more virtue, fortitude, self denial and perseverance, than has perhaps ever been paralleled, in the history of human enthusiasm."

Soon after this, during the absence of Washington (who had gone to meet the two French commanders at Hartford, in Connecticut,) the discovery was made of Arnold's treachery. Major Andre, who had been employed on the part of the enemy to conduct the correspondence with Arnold, and for whose convenience and accommodation, a sloop of war had been sent up the Hudson, as near to West Point as she could approach without exciting suspicion, in one of his secret conferences with Arnold, had been detained to so late an hour that he was reduced to the neces-

sity of spending the night with Arnold. The latter, contrary to an express stipulation with Andre, as was alleged, took him within the American lines, where he lay concealed the whole of the next day. At night, the boatmen refused to take him on board the *Vulture*, as some circumstances had made it necessary for her during the day to change her position to a more dangerous one, and Andre found himself compelled to attempt his return to New-York by land. Having changed his military dress for a plain coat, and received a passport from Arnold, under his assumed name of John Anderson, he passed the guards and outposts without suspicion, and was felicitating himself as he rode along on the following day, at his good fortune, when he was stopped by three of the New-York militia, *John Paulding*, *David Williams*, and *Isaac Van Vert*, who were out on a scouting party. Andre, deceived into a belief that they belonged to his own party, confessed himself a British officer, and was immediately secured. He endeavoured in vain afterwards, by the production of his passport, and the offer of his watch, and a large purse of gold, to procure his release: the three sturdy patriots—for surely nothing but patriotism, or what is the same thing, an honest, unsophisticated sense of duty to their country, could have actuated these simple countrymen—resolutely refused all his offers of reward, and conducted him to their commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel Jameson. Andre, from a desire to save Arnold from immediate detection, still maintained his assumed name and character of Anderson, and begged permission of Colonel Jameson to write to General Arnold to inform him of his detention. This request, strange as it may seem, was granted ;

and what makes it still more extraordinary is, that for some time previous to this affair, Jameson had entertained such strong suspicions of Arnold, as to have formed the design of seizing him at all hazards on the first occasion. His weakness in permitting notice to be given to Arnold, allowed the traitor an opportunity of escaping on board the *Vulture*, before Washington's arrival from Connecticut.

The papers found upon Major Andre, which contained a full developement of Arnold's plan for delivering West Point into the hands of the enemy, were immediately forwarded to General Washington, accompanied by a letter from the prisoner, avowing his real name and character. In this letter he endeavoured to show, that the correspondence and transaction in which he had been engaged, could not bring him under the description of a spy, as the only circumstance connected with it, which could tend to give him that character, had been forced upon him without his knowledge or concurrence; namely, his being within the American lines in disguise,—that his interviews with Arnold had been held on *neutral* ground, and under the orders of his General. Washington had halted at West Point on his way from Connecticut, where he expected to meet and confer with Arnold, which prevented his receiving the communication in time to prevent the escape. He took immediate measures to secure the safety of the fort, and on his arrival at head quarters, appointed a board composed of fourteen general officers, among whom were the Marquis de la Fayette and the Baron de Steuben, to decide upon the condition and punishment of Major Andre.

History produces no example of such delicacy of treatment towards a spy, as was shown to Major Andre; and that he bore that character in the acceptation of the term by the whole world, does not admit a moment's hesitation or doubt. It appeared, after his capture, that he was held in high esteem in the British army, was a gentleman of unblemished honour, of high integrity, and accomplished manners. Generals Sir Henry Clinton, Robinson, and the traitor himself, all wrote to Washington in behalf of the prisoner, and all endeavoured, by giving a sophistical interpretation to his proceedings, to do away the imputation of his being a spy:—they went so far indeed, as to state, what the honesty of Major Andre disdained to confirm, that he had visited Arnold's camp under the sanction of a flag. Their attempt to save him by this falsehood, sufficiently proves that they had no hope of being able by arguments drawn from the laws and usages of war, to prove that he was not a spy.

The board appointed to try him, and of which General Greene was president, met on the 29th of September. Their conduct towards the unhappy young man, whose life was to depend upon their decision, was marked by every feeling of kindness, liberality and generous sympathy. So desirous did they seem to seek for circumstances of mitigation in the case, that they did not examine a single witness against him, and prefaced their interrogatories to himself, by desiring him not to answer a single question, that might be at all embarrassing to his feelings. Upon his own confessions, then, and after the most patient, candid, liberal hearing and construction of his statement, the board reported the following *unanimous* opinion:

“That Major Andre, Adjutant General to the British army, ought to be considered as a *spy* from the enemy : that he came on shore from the Vulture sloop of war, in the night of the 21st of September, on an interview with General Arnold, in a private and secret manner ; that he changed his dress within our lines, and under a feigned name, and in a disguised habit, passed our works at Stony and Verplank’s Points : that he was taken in a disguised habit, on his way to New-York ; that he had in his possession several papers, which contained intelligence for the enemy ; and that agreeably to the laws and usages of nations, he ought to suffer death.”

After this report of the board of officers, Washington replied to the letter of Sir Henry Clinton, and enclosed to him a copy of the decision. As a last effort, then, to save the forfeited life of his friend, Clinton proposed that General Robertson and two other gentlemen should meet General Washington, or others appointed by him, with a view to a complete and mutual understanding of the whole business, as due to humanity, before the decision of the board should be carried into execution. Washington consented that General Greene should meet General Robertson. Every thing that ingenuity or humanity could suggest, was urged on the part of the British General ; Major Andre was represented as the particular friend of the commander in chief, whom it might be important to oblige by his liberation ; and in the end an absurd and *threatening* letter was delivered from Arnold. But General Greene was unshaken in his opinion of the nature of the transaction, and the conference ended without effect. The whole American army appeared, in the most unac-

countable manner, to be interested in the fate of Major Andre, while that of their own countryman, Captain Hale, who had fallen into the hands of the enemy, under circumstances precisely similar, and who had been executed in the vilest manner, at New-York, without the formality of a board of inquiry, had been passed over as a matter of course, without its seeming to excite a single emotion of compassion or regret. Major Andre, it is true, was a high minded, honourable, brave and accomplished youth; so was Captain Hale. Major Andre had made many friends among the American officers, by his calm, dignified and manly deportment during his confinement—Captain Hale was of a disposition and character to have done the same, had an opportunity been allowed, but the summary manner in which he was condemned and executed, left his enemies ignorant of his nobility of soul: not a voice was raised in extenuation of *his* crime, not an eye wept at *his* fate.

When Major Andre was apprised of the sentence of death, which had been pronounced against him, he made this last appeal to the feelings of Washington, in a letter dated the day before his execution. “Buoyed above the terrour of death, by the consciousness of a life devoted to honourable pursuits, stained with no action that can give me remorse, I trust that the request I make to your Excellency at this severe period and which is to soften my last moments, will not be rejected.

“Sympathy towards a soldier, will surely induce you to adapt the *mode* of my death, to the feelings of a man of honour. Let me hope, sir, that if aught in my character impresses you with esteem towards me, if aught in my misfortunes marks me the victim of policy, not of resentment; I shall experience the ope-

ration of those feelings in your breast, by being informed that I am not to die on a gibbet."

Washington, who in relation to this transaction, has been branded by his enemies with the epithets of cruel, vindictive and savage, on the receipt of the Major's letter, felt towards the unhappy writer all the sympathies of a kind and compassionate nature; and if *he* only had been concerned, the prisoner would have been pardoned and enlarged. But the interests of his country were at stake, and the sternness of justice demanded that private feelings should be sacrificed. He consulted his officers on the propriety of listening to Major Andre's request to receive the death of a soldier, and seemed himself desirous that this last poor consolation should be given to him; many of the officers were melted to softness by the manliness of his appeal, but General Greene, whose feelings were more under the guidance of cool discretion and prudence, insisted on the justice of the sentence, and the necessity of example. On the 2d of October, this unfortunate young man expiated the only criminal or dishonourable action of his life, on the gallows. He resigned himself to his fate with heroick fortitude, and died universally lamented by foes as well as friends.

Arnold, the miserable wretch, whose machinations had led to this unhappy catastrophe, attempted to justify his treachery on the plea of *love of country*. With the most infatuated weakness, he endeavoured to persuade himself and others, that the same attachment to the *interests* of his country, which had first led him with enthusiastick ardour to take up arms in her defence, imposed on him the part he had now taken. The detection of Andre, indeed, seems to

have produced a temporary derangement of intellect in Arnold. He recieved the news of it with a phrenzy of feeling that makes his escape wonderful. Having gained the Vulture sloop of war, he delayed not to present himself before the British General at New-York, from whom he received the price of his dishonour, the commission of Brigadier General, and the sum of *ten thousand pounds sterling*. This last was the grand secret of Arnold's fall from virtue; his vanity and extravagance had led him into expenses which it was neither in the power or will of Congress to support; he had involved himself in debt, from which he saw no hope of extricating himself; and his honour was bartered for British gold. The first thing which this newly created loyalist did, on his arrival at New-York, was to issue an address to his former companions in arms, and the American people, in which after attempting to justify his conduct, he called upon them with no less insolence than absurdity, to look upon the Congress as their only real enemies, and to flock to the standard of his Majesty, where they would receive the honours and the *pay* due to their services. Great as the calculations of Sir Henry Clinton were, upon the defection of Arnold, it does not appear that his example, or subsequent exertions, influenced a single individual to desert the service of his country. Washington's sentiments on this event were thus expressed in his letter to a friend, a few days after the catastrophe. "In no instance since the commencement of the war, has the interposition of providence appeared more remarkably conspicuous, than in the rescue of the post and garrison of West Point. * * * * *

“How far Arnold meant to involve me in the catastrophe of this plan, does not appear by any indubitable evidence; and I am rather inclined to think, he did not wish to hazard the more important object * * * * * by attempting to combine two events, the lesser of which, might have marred the greater. A combination of extraordinary circumstances, and unaccountable deprivation of presence of mind, in a man of the first abilities, and the *virtue of three militia men*, threw the Adjutant General of the British forces, (with the full proof of Arnold’s intention) into our hands; and but for the egregious folly, or the bewildered conception of Lieutenant Colonel Jameson, who seemed lost in astonishment, and not to have known what he was doing, I should undoubtedly have gotten Arnold. Andre has met his fate, and with that fortitude which was to be expected from an accomplished young man and a gallant officer; but I mistake if Arnold is not suffering at this time the *torments of a mental hell*.”

With respect to the three militia men who had been the instruments of Providence in this signal interposition, Congress, on the 3d of November “resolved, that Congress have a high sense of the virtuous and patriotick conduct of *John Paulding, David Williams and Isaac Vanvert*: in testimony whereof, ordered, that each of them receive annually 200 dollars in specie, or an equivalent in the current money of these states, during life; and that the board of war be directed to procure for each of them, a silver medal, on one side of which shall be a shield with this inscription, “fidelity,” and on the other, the following motto, “*vincit amor patriæ*,” and forward them to the commander in chief, who is requested to present the

same, with a copy of this resolution, and the thanks of Congress for their fidelity, and the eminent service they have rendered their country."

In the mean time, a proposition was made to Sir Henry Clinton by Washington, for an exchange of *officers*, who were prisoners, without including the privates, to which Sir Henry would not accede. General Lincoln, on the part of the Americans, and General Phillips, on the part of the British, were appointed to settle the terms of a cartel, and after some objections on the part of the former to a general exchange, which had been deemed unadvisable on account of the accession of strength it would give to the enemy, it was finally agreed to wave that consideration for the present, and a cartel was established for the exchange of officers. The cartel included the Americans of New-York, for whom an equivalent was to be received of British and German soldiers.

On the 14th of October, Congress resolved to erect a monument in the city of Annapolis in Maryland, to the memory of the Baron de Kalb, to bear the following inscription: "Sacred to the memory of the Baron De Kalb, Knight of the royal order of military merit, Brigadier of the armies of France, and Major General in the service of the United States of America. Having served with honour and reputation for three years, he gave a last and glorious proof of his attachment to the liberties of mankind, and to the cause of America, in the action near Cambden, in the state of South Carolina; where leading on the regular troops of Maryland and Delaware against superiour forces, and animating them by his example, to deeds of valour, he was wounded in several places, and died on the 19th of August following, in the 48th

year of his age. The Congress of the United States of America, in acknowledgment of his zeal, of his services, and of his merit, have erected this monument."

The year closed in the north, without any military movement that deserved the name of a campaign.—Numerous skirmishes of scouting parties took place, during the fall, and many depredations were committed on both sides, more particularly by the refugees of New-York. The army of Washington continued so weak, both in point of numbers and supplies, that he was glad to continue in a state of inactivity, or prepare for placing himself in his winter quarters at Morristown. Sir Henry Clinton also seemed to be well pleased that the approach of winter put a stop to all active proceedings in the north, as it enabled him to send off considerable reinforcements to Cornwallis in the south, which was still destined to be the theatre of continued conflicts. He had despatched General Leslie, about the middle of October, with 3,000 troops to the Chesapeake Bay, to cooperate with Lord Cornwallis, who, he supposed would have so far extended his conquests, as to meet the reinforcements at Portsmouth; but Leslie on his arrival at this place, received orders from his lordship to proceed to Charleston, whither also 800 recruits had been sent from New-York to the southern army.

Congress having ordered that a court martial should sit to try General Gates for his misfortunes at the battle of Camden, General Greene was appointed by Washington to take his place; and that General set out for the south in the beginning of November. He expressed his decided disapprobation of the course pursued in relation to General Gates, and very

much to his honour, declared that he would be well satisfied to serve under him. But whether merely unfortunate, or blameably negligent, Gates had lost the confidence of the south, and his removal from the command became a matter of necessity.

The Chevalier Charles Louis de Ternay, knight of St. John of Jerusalem, &c. and commander of the French fleet in America, died at Newport, on the 18th of December. His polite and gentlemanly deportment had endeared him to the Americans, and his premature death was sincerely regretted. He was interred on the following day with all the honours due to his private worth and publick station.

CHAPTER XV.

Events of 1780 continued.—Sanguinary conduct of Lord Cornwallis.—State of Gates's army.—Colonel Morgan arrives at Hillsborough.—The British army move from Cambden.—Colonel Davie defeats a foraging party of the enemy.—Destruction of Wahab's house.—Unsuccessful attempt of Colonel Clarke against Augusta.—Battle of King's Mountain, and defeat of Ferguson.—Cornwallis retreats towards Cambden.—General Sumpter forces Tarleton to retreat from Blackstock Hill.—The American army move from Hillsborough.—General Greene arrives to take command of the southern army.—General Gates is kindly received by the Virginia legislature, and retires to his farm.—Colonel Washington with his cavalry effects the surrender of a garrison at Rudgely's Farm by stratagem.—General Greene takes a position on the Pedee.—Morgan advances to the Pacolet and Broad Rivers.—Leslie arrives at Charleston with reinforcements for Cornwallis, and marches to Cambden.—Half pay for life voted by Congress to their officers.—Major Lee promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel—is ordered to the south.—The Baron de Steuben ordered to Virginia.—Massachusetts establishes an Academy of Arts and Sciences.—Pennsylvania abolishes slavery.—The torture abolished in France.—The inquisition abolished by the Duke of Modena.

THE extreme heat of the weather in South Carolina, the unhealthiness of the season, and the want of stores which were daily expected from New-York, prevented Lord Cornwallis from being immediately able to pursue the advantages he had gained by the defeat of General Gates. He remained, therefore, at Cambden, for some time after the battle, engaged in the civil duties of his government. In the execution of these, he was even more rigorous than Sir Henry Clinton himself had been. Having despatched his

orders to North Carolina for the immediate assembling and arming of the loyalists, and issued a second proclamation, denouncing death against all who should be found in arms against his Majesty after receiving protections; he proceeded to appoint a commissioner to confiscate and sell the estates of all who adhered to the cause of their country. His orders to Lieutenant Colonel Cruger, who commanded the the British garrison of Ninety-Six, will show the sanguinary policy which Lord Cornwallis had now determined to adopt. "I have given orders that all the inhabitants of this province who have submitted, and who have taken a part in this revolt, should be punished with the greatest rigour, that they should be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them, or destroyed. I have likewise directed, that confiscations should be made out of their effects, to the persons who have been plundered and oppressed by them. I have ordered in the most positive manner, that every militia man who had borne arms with us, and had afterwards joined the enemy, should be *immediately hanged*. I have now, sir, only to desire, that you will take the most rigorous measures, to extinguish the rebellion in the district in which you command; and that you will obey, in the strictest manner, the directions I have given in this letter, relative to the treatment of this country."

Several of the militia men, taken in the late defeat, were actually hanged under this order; nor was the rigour of Lord Cornwallis confined to men of this description: some of the most respectable persons in the state, who had never sought or accepted the protection of the British commander, but who remained prisoners on parole, were confined on board of prison ships,

and afterwards sent to St. Augustine. And now it was, that Congress began to feel the impropriety of their conduct with regard to the convention troops of Burgoyne; they dared not complain of Cornwallis's sending his prisoners wherever he pleased; he had as much right to be influenced by *motives of policy*, as they had, and was quite as excuseable for giving that name to his own whims and caprices. The only difference in the two cases, was, that the prisoners in Charleston were sent away from their homes, their wives and children, whereas the troops of Burgoyne had already left all these endearments and consolations before they became prisoners. Thus does injustice punish itself.

We left General Gates with the wretched remnant of his army at Hillsborough. They were so reduced in numbers, that the whole were arranged in two battalions, the first under the command of Major Anderson; the second under Major Hardeman—thus forming one regiment, the command of which was given to Colonel Otho H. Williams, with Lieutenant Colonel John E. Howard, both of whom had distinguished themselves in the hard-fought battle of Camden. They were destitute of every thing necessary for offensive or active operations, being without provision, clothing or pay: but their spirits remained unsubdued, and their fidelity to the cause unshaken by a thousand temptations daily offered to seduce them to the ranks of their enemies. On the 16th of September, this little army was augmented by the arrival of about 300 men from Virginia, consisting of the remains of Colonel Buford's regiment, and a small body of Porterfield's light infantry. These were formed into a second regiment under Colonel Buford, and

the command of the two was given to General Smallwood. By the beginning of October, the army was further reinforced by the arrival of Colonel Morgan, who was in himself a host, and the cavalry under Washington and White. The arrival of Morgan made some change in the disposition of the troops necessary. Four companies of infantry under Lieutenant Colonel Howard, the cavalry, and a small body of Virginia riflemen, were formed into a separate corps, and placed under Morgan, who was ordered to march with them towards Salisbury, to co-operate with the North Carolina militia, the command of which had been given by the legislature to General Smallwood.

Lord Cornwallis, having at length received the necessary supplies, prepared to enter upon active operations for the conquest of North Carolina. He despatched Colonel Ferguson with his corps of light infantry and militia to the frontiers of North Carolina, and Tarleton with his legion to scour the country west of the Wateree, while his lordship moved on the 8th of September to the Waxhaws, where he halted until Tarleton joined him. Colonel Davie who was stationed in this settlement with his partisan corps, was compelled to move off on the approach of Cornwallis, and establish himself at Providence. From this place he conducted a successful enterprise against a foraging party of the enemy, consisting of light troops and loyalists, on the southern banks of the Catawba. He came upon them unperceived on the morning of 21st of September, at a plantation which belonged to Wahab, one of his captains, and compelled them to fly in great confusion, with the loss of 60 of their number killed and wounded, 96 horses,

and 120 stand of arms. But the British army were too near to remain long in ignorance of this transaction ; a sufficient number speedily collected, and Colonel Davie, in his turn, was compelled to retreat, while the enraged enemy, in view of the unhappy Wahab, set fire to his house and left his helpless wife and children without a shelter.

In the mean time, Colonel Ferguson having advanced beyond the frontiers of North Carolina into Tryon county, ravaging and laying waste the whole country on his march, received intelligence from Lord Cornwallis of an unsuccessful attack upon Augusta, by Colonel Clarke, and orders to intercept him in his retreat. Colonel Clarke, of whose enterprising spirit, we have before had occasion to speak, had never lost sight of the hope of recovering Augusta, and having collected a body of hardy mountaineers, determined upon attacking it, while defended only by a weak garrison of 150 men under Colonel Brown. The latter officer on the approach of Clarke withdrew his garrison from the town and retired towards Garden Hill, where, in spite of the vigorous attack of Clarke with 700 men, he succeeded in establishing himself in a strong position. All the efforts of Colonel Clarke to reduce this brave officer with his little band to submission were unavailing ; cut off from provisions and water, Colonel Brown still maintained his position for four days, when the arrival of Colonel Cruger with a reinforcement from Ninety-Six, relieved him from his unpleasant situation, and forced Colonel Clarke, whose ammunition was exhausted, to withdraw his troops. Colonel Ferguson, who believed himself safe from the attack of any enemy in his neighbourhood, posted himself on King's

Mountain, and quietly waited to intercept Clarke on his return. His security, however, was but of short continuance: for a numerous body of hardy troops from the western parts of Virginia and North Carolina, having been collected under Colonels Williams, (of Ninety-Six) Campbell, Cleaveland, Shelby and Sevier, for the purpose of moving upon Augusta, hearing of the failure of Clarke, and receiving intelligence at the same time, of Ferguson's situation, determined upon turning their arms against him. They halted for this purpose at Gilberttown, and selecting 1500 of their bravest men, formed them into three divisions, and ascended the thickly wooded summit of King's Mountain. Cleaveland, with his division, was the first to gain sight of the enemy's pickets, and halting his men, he addressed them in the following simple, affecting and animating terms: "My brave fellows, we *have* beat the *tories*, and we *can* beat them; they are all cowards. If they had the spirit of men, they would join with their fellow-citizens in supporting the independence of their country. When engaged, you are not to wait for the word of command from me. *I will show you by my example how to fight.* I can undertake no more. Every man must consider himself as an officer, and act from his own judgment. Fire as quick as you can, and stand your ground as long as you can. When you can do no better, get behind trees, or retreat; but I beg of you not to run quite off. If we are repulsed, let us make a point to return, and renew the fight. Perhaps we may have better luck in the second attempt than in the first. *If any of you are afraid, such have leave to retire,* and they are requested *immediately to take themselves off.*"

This address, which would have done honour to the hero of Agincourt, being ended, the men rushed upon the enemy's pickets, and forced them to retire ; but returning again to the charge with the bayonet, Cleveland's men gave way in their turn. In the mean time Colonel Shelby advanced with his division, and was in like manner driven back by the bayonets of the enemy ; but there was yet another body of assailants to be received : Colonel Campbell moved up at the moment of Shelby's repulse, but was equally unable to stand against the British bayonet, and Ferguson still kept possession of his mountain. The whole of the division being separately baffled, determined to make another effort in cooperation, and the conflict became terrible. Ferguson still depended upon the bayonet ; but this brave and undaunted officer after gallantly sustaining the attack for nearly an hour, was killed by a musket ball, and his troops soon after surrendered at discretion. The enemy's loss on this occasion was 300 killed and wounded, 800 prisoners, and 1500 stand of arms. Our loss in killed was no more than about 20, among whom was Colonel Williams, one of our most active and enterprising officers : our number of wounded was very considerable.

Lord Cornwallis had, in the mean time, advanced towards Salisbury, little dreaming of the reverse of fortune in store for him. He had been so long and so invariably successful, that he had begun to think, the terror of his name was sufficient to quell every thing like rebellion. But the intelligence of Ferguson's defeat, and the death of an officer on whom so much of his hopes depended for the discipline of the royalists, as well as the reduction of the friends of government on the confines of the two disputed states, gave a check

to the projects of his Lordship and determined him to retreat towards Cambden. He commenced his retreat on the 14th of October, and after a tedious and fatiguing march, rendered difficult by heavy rains which swelled the watercourses and saturated the earth, he arrived at Winnsborough on the 29th where he established himself, for the convenience of protecting the country between Cambden and Ninety Six. Soon after his arrival here, Cornwallis despatched Tarleton with a view to cut off General Sumpter, who had never been a moment idle when an opportunity offered of striking at the enemy. He was now posted near the Tyger river, at Blackstock Hill, where Tarleton encountered him on the 20th November. A part of Sumpter's force had possession of a log barn, which served as a secure defence against the attack of cavalry, while the apertures between the logs allowed those within an opportunity of firing to great advantage. The 63d regiment, which had just met with a severe repulse by Sumpter, on the Santee, was ordered to join Tarleton in his attack ; but this officer with his usual impatience and impetuosity, being joined by 80 of their mounted infantry, pushed on without waiting for the remainder, with 250 men. Sumpter was so advantageously posted, that nothing but the most daring presumption on the part of Tarleton, could have led him to hope for success ; his rash valour had served him on other occasions, and he had been the minion of fortune so long that he fancied the vigour of his arm invincible. No troops could have behaved better than those of Tarleton ; but Sumpter's strength of position and great superiority of numbers, rendered their valour unavailing. The party belonging to the 63d regiment were literally cut to pieces,

their commanding officer, Major Money, two Lieutenants, and a third of the privates being killed. Tarleton endeavoured to support the charge of his party, but was compelled to fall back ; the whole of the assailants retreated until they formed a junction with the regiment advancing to their support. General Sumpter was severely wounded in the attack ; and having remained on the ground long enough to bury his dead and take care of the wounded, as well his own as those of the enemy, he retired across the Tyger, not being strong enough to wait for a second attack from Tarleton's reinforcements.

General Marion in the mean time continued his skirmishing with great success, having always a place of retreat so secure and concealed that the enemy were never able to find him out, unless he chose himself to offer them battle, a thing which he never declined when an opportunity offered. The services of this officer were so various and constant, but so unconnected in general with the operation of the main army, that it would require a separate volume to detail his gallant exploits. He was never idle ; though repeatedly left with not more than a dozen militiamen, he was constantly in the field, and constantly on the watch for an occasion of using his little band for the advancement of the great cause of resistance to the invaders of his native land.

The defeat of Colonel Ferguson had raised the hopes of the American army, as much as it depressed those of Cornwallis ; and notwithstanding the complete rout of Gates at Cambden, the enemy had so far the worst of the campaign, having lost a greater number of men than the Americans, and been compelled to abandon several posts which they held in the h

ning of the campaign. With some little gleam of hope, shining upon them amid the gloom which had so long enveloped the south, the American army moved from Hillsborough on the 2d November, and reached Salisbury on the 8th, a distance of one hundred miles. General Gates remained at Hillsborough a few days longer, enjoying the pleasing anticipation of being able soon to retrieve his losses, when he received the rumour of Greene's appointment, and of a court of inquiry to be held on his conduct. In addition to this information, which perhaps was not altogether unexpected by him, from his knowledge of the temper of Congress, he received also the afflicting news of the death of his only son. This was a trial of his firmness which it required all his philosophy to support; but General Gates suffered neither grief nor resentment to stifle the dictates of duty. His efforts, on the contrary, were redoubled to place his army in such a situation as would give the least trouble to his successor; and if the same caution and prudence of arrangement had been observed in his earlier movements, as now characterized the disposition of his reduced means, the laurels of Saratoga would have flourished in undiminished freshness. Having arrived at Salisbury, General Gates directed General Smallwood to encamp with his division at Providence, and to build huts for the winter accommodation of the men, while Morgan, who at the repeated solicitation of General Gates had been promoted to the rank of Brigadier, was directed to take a position somewhat in advance with the light troops, the General himself fixing his head quarters at Charlotte.

Things were thus situated, when on the 2d of December, General Greene arrived to take the command.

He was received by General Gates with a noble cordiality, that did honour to his heart ; and on the succeeding day the command was transferred to him in the following general orders. "The honourable Major General Greene, who arrived yesterday afternoon in Charlotte, being appointed by his Excellency General Washington, with the approbation of the honourable Congress, to the command of the Southern army, all orders will for the future issue from him, and all reports are to be made to him.—General Gates returns his sincere and grateful thanks to the Southern army, for their perseverance, fortitude and patient endurance of all the hardships and sufferings they have undergone while under his command. He anxiously hopes their misfortunes will cease therewith ; and that victory, and the glorious advantages attending it, may be the future portion of the Southern army." The conduct of General Greene on this unpleasant occasion evinced his great delicacy, and undiminished respect for the unfortunate Gates. He publicly thanked him for his polite reception, and as a further compliment, confirmed by general order, all the standing orders of Gates.

General Gates remained no longer than was necessary to make the requisite communications to his successor, of whom he took an affectionate leave, and proceeded slowly towards the north. Where he had a few months before been met with greetings and shouts of welcome, he was now received with cold politeness, or chilling indifference ; nor until he arrived at Richmond, the capital of Virginia, did he see a smile of recognition or hear a whisper of condolence or consolation under his misfortunes. His splendid victory at Saratoga was forgotten in his more recent

defeat. But thus it is ever with the world, always ready to minister to the pride of success, and ever prone to shun or insult misfortune. The Legislature of Virginia, however, made an honourable exception to this remark. As soon as they heard of the General's arrival, they appointed a committee of their body to wait on him with the assurance of their high regard and esteem ; " that the remembrance of his former glorious services cannot be obliterated by any reverse of fortune, but that this house ever mindful of his great merit, will omit no opportunity of testifying to the world, the gratitude which as a member of the American Union, this country owes him in his military character." This kindness from so important a number of the union, made a deep impression on the mind of General Gates ; and the subsequent respectful reception which he met with from the commander in chief, tended to soothe the feelings with which he now retired to his farm never more to mingle in the strife of his country.

General Gates had scarcely resigned the command of the army, when intelligence arrived of a skirmish between a part of Morgan's corps and a foraging party of the enemy. Morgan had attempted with his infantry to intercept one of those parties who had advanced into the country some distance from their main body, but they managed to elude his efforts. Washington, however, who with his cavalry had taken a more extensive circuit, advanced to Clermont, where a garrison of 100 men under Lieutenant Colonel Rudgely, were posted in a block house, or rather a log barn, impenetrable to small arms, and secured from the attack of cavalry by a surrounding abbatis. It had been Washington's intention to carry this place by surprise, but finding this impracticable, he resorted to a

ruse de guerre which procured the surrender of the garrison without a shot. By advancing his cavalry so as to show only their front, some of the rear were enabled to dismount unperceived; and having worked a pine log into the rough semblance of a piece of artillery, it was brought up with great parade and pointed against the house. This done, the commanding officer was summoned to surrender, and seeing no hope of being able to stand a siege, he obeyed the summons without hesitation; and having taken care of the prisoners, and demolished the barn and abbatis, Washington returned in triumph to his brigade.

Immediately after this event, General Greene moved with the main body of the army, and established himself on the eastern bank of the Pedee, nearly opposite Cheraw hill, a part of the country, which not only afforded abundant supplies for his troops, but offered a convenient rendezvous for the militia. General Morgan had received a reinforcement of 500 militia, under General Pickens, which gave him a respectable brigade, with which he took post near the confluence of the Pacolet and Broad rivers.

General Leslie arrived at Charleston with the succours to Cornwallis on the 13th of December; and leaving a part of his troops for the protection of that city, he marched immediately with the remainder, amounting to 1500 to Camden, where Cornwallis had ordered him to join him. In this situation we must leave the two armies, to bring the minor incidents of the year to a close.

Congress among other resolutions relating to the army, in October, resolved that all officers who continued in service to the end of the war, should receive half pay for life. About the same time, Major Hen-

ry Lee, being promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, was ordered to join the southern army with his legionary corps ; and the Baron Steuben was directed to proceed to Virginia, with a view to the proper organization of its means of defence. The departure of General Leslie from Portsmouth, about the time of the Baron's arrival at Richmond, prevented the necessity of those measures which had been planned for his expulsion, and Virginia continued to enjoy repose.

This year was remarkable for the enactment of four laws, by four separate and distinct powers, for the promotion of human happiness, and the diffusion of the blessings of peace and liberty, amidst the turmoils and distresses of war.—1. The general court of Massachusetts, in May, passed an act to incorporate and establish a society for the cultivation and promotion of the Arts and Sciences, by the name of *The American Academy of Arts and Sciences*. 2d. Pennsylvania passed a law for ever abolishing slavery in that state. 3d. The King of France, by solemn edict declared the trial by torture to be for ever at an end. He likewise, of his own will, made retrenchment of no less than four hundred of his household, thus lessening by the annual amount of so many salaries, the taxes of the French people. And 4th. The Duke of Modena, after the death of the grand Inquisitor, abolished the Inquisition throughout his dominions, and ordered its revenues to be applied to purposes of charity, and publick accommodation.

CHAPTER XVI.

Events of 1781.—Movements of the army in the South.—Lieutenant Colonel Lee joins the army with his legion.—Lee and Marion surprise the British post of Georgetown.—Cornwallis advances from Camden.—Battle of the Cowpens, and defeat of Tarleton.—Morgan retreats to the Catawba.—Is there joined by General Greene.—Cornwallis is prevented from crossing by the sudden rise of the river.—General Davidson opposing his passage is killed.—Tarleton disperses the militia at Terrants.—Greene retreats towards Guilford Court House, crosses the Yadkin, and is again saved by the swelling of the river.—Greene and Huger form a junction at Guilford Court House. They retreat to Virginia across the Dan.—Skirmish between Lee's and Tarleton's horse.—Cornwallis moves to Hillsborough.—Greene recrosses the Dan and advances towards the British.—Lee disperses a large party of royalists under Colonel Pyle.—His attempts to bring Tarleton to action fail.—The latter retreats to Hillsborough.—Cornwallis again moves in pursuit of Greene, forces Colonel Williams to retreat.—Manœuvres of Lee and his Legion.—General Greene retires across the Haw, and Cornwallis relinquishes the pursuit.—Greene receives a reinforcement.—Moves to Guilford Court House.—Battle of Guilford.—Defeat of General Greene.—Cornwallis retires to Wilmington.—Greene pursues him as far as Ramsay's Mill, where he encamps his army.

A few days after the last movement of General Greene which we have mentioned, Lieutenant Colonel Lee joined the army with his legion, amounting to about 400 horse, and 180 foot. This corps was immediately ordered to cross the Pedee and advance to the support of Brigadier General Marion. The movements of Marion, as we have before observed, were so rapid and various, and sometimes so secret that it was difficult even for his friends to find him ; and it was

not until after considerable search, that Lee was enabled to learn his position and communicate his orders. He found him at length in the swamps between the Pedee and Santee rivers, engaged in his usual enterprises against the enemy's posts. Soon after the junction, a scheme was projected for surprising the British Colonel Campbell, who was stationed with a garrison of 200 men in Georgetown. The fort or inclosed work which constituted the principal defence, was situated a little out of the town, but being too small to afford quarters for the men, they were stationed for the most part in the town, where also the commanding officer had his quarters. The intention was to embark the infantry of the legion in two divisions, in boats, who were to drop down the Pedee and arrive at Georgetown in the night, while the cavalry under Marion and Lee were to gain the vicinity of the town by land and wait for the signal of cooperation. The boat party met with so little difficulty in descending the river, that they entered the town at the appointed time unperceived, and gained possession of the commandant's quarters, so that when Marion and Lee rushed in upon hearing the first fire, the town was quiet and Colonel Campbell a prisoner. The troops of the enemy, however, instead of attempting as was conjectured would be the case, either to gain the fort, or rush to the quarters of the commandant, remained snug in their own quarters, and secured themselves by barricading the doors and windows. Thus only a part of the object was accomplished. Colonel Campbell and several other officers were parolled; and the American troops, having no means of battering the barricaded doors, or the fort, retired from the town on the approach of day-light. The infantry who de-

cended the river, on this occasion, and to whom great praise is due for their active movements, were commanded by Captains Carnes and Rudolph.

Lord Cornwallis, in the mean time having despatched Tarleton in pursuit of Morgan, and being reinforced by the arrival of Leslie with 1500 men, advanced with the main army towards North Carolina, with a view of intercepting Morgan, should he escape the vigilance of Tarleton's legion. He directed his march between the Catawba and the Broad rivers, while Leslie was ordered to move in a parallel direction on the eastern side of the Wateree and Catawba.

General Morgan, having received intelligence of those movements of the enemy, quitted his position on the 16th of January, only a few hours before Tarleton reached it with his legion of 1100 men. He would have waited to give Tarleton battle, but the approach of Cornwallis with the whole army, would have rendered such a step extremely hazardous and imprudent. Tarleton, with his usual velocity of movement, pressed the pursuit through the night and gained sight of Morgan early next morning, at the Cowpens, where the General had halted to rest and repose his troops. He was greatly inferior to Tarleton in numbers, and being considerably harassed, he would have preferred a quiet retreat; but being eagerly pressed by his enemy, he determined to prepare for action. The ground was unfavourable to him, being such as to admit with facility the operation of cavalry, of which Tarleton had three times his number; but having once taken his resolution no longer to avoid battle, his arrangements were made with his usual promptitude and skill. His front line was composed of the North and South Carolina and

Georgia militia under General Pickens, two light parties of which, under Majors M'Dowell and Cunningham, were somewhat advanced, with orders to meet the enemy's advance with a desultory fire and then fall back into line. The second line consisted of the regular infantry, and Captains Triplett's and Tait's companies of Virginia militia, under Lieutenant Colonel Howard. The cavalry and a small body of mounted militia under Colonel Washington were drawn up at a convenient distance in the rear.

Tarleton had no sooner come up with Morgan than he made a hasty arrangement of his fatigued troops, and even before his line of battle was complete led them to the attack. The advancing line was composed of his light and legion infantry and the 7th regiment, under Major Newmarsh, with a troop of dragoons on each flank. Major M'Arthur with a battalion of the 71st, and the remainder of the cavalry, formed his reserve. The line advanced with a ferocious shout, and a hot fire of musketry, which compelled our light advanced parties to fall back into line.—General Pickens had given orders to his militia not to fire until the enemy had approached within the distance of forty or fifty yards, which they obeyed with great firmness; but the assault with the bayonet which Tarleton now ordered was too much for them, the whole line retired precipitately, a part of them fled to their horses, and a part was led by General Pickens to the right of Howard's line. Tarleton, supposing by the flight of the militia of the first line, that his victory was secured, pushed forward with impetuosity until he came upon Howard. The resistance which he met with here was somewhat unexpected, and he soon found himself compelled to bring up his reserve.

The contest now became obstinate and deadly, and the ground was covered with the killed and wounded. The continentals stood the fire with unshaken firmness, until the advance of M^rArthur, when it became necessary for Howard to change the front of his right company. His order for this purpose being mistaken, the company fell back, and the whole line retired to the cavalry. Tarleton pursued once more with the assurance of victory; but Howard having explained his order, and performed his manœuvre in defiance, turned upon his impetuous foe, and poured in so destructive a fire, that his pursuit was turned into instant rout. Howard perceiving the disorder into which his unexpected facing had thrown the enemy, pressed upon them with the bayonet, which decided the fate of the day. Colonel Washington at the same moment charged a part of the enemy's cavalry which had gained our rear, and put them also to flight. He pursued them for several miles with more zeal than prudence, and having in his eagerness advanced some distance beyond his regiment, narrowly escaped being cut off.

The British lost in this memorable battle, upwards of 100 killed, among whom were ten commissioned officers, and 200 wounded. More than 500 prisoners fell into the hands of the Americans, besides 2 pieces of artillery, 2 standards, 800 muskets, 35 baggage wagons, and 100 dragoon horses. Our loss was no more than 12 killed, and about 60 wounded. Thus did Tarleton receive a lesson to which he had not been accustomed, and a check which produced a sensible effect upon all his subsequent operations. A part of his cavalry, which had fled without taking any part in the action, reached Cornwallis's camp in

the evening, where Tarleton himself arrived the next morning, no less mortified than fatigued.

The victory of the Cowpens must be reckoned one of the most splendid achieved during the revolutionary war. The force of Morgan hardly amounted to 500 men, while that of his adversary, from the acknowledgment of the British historians, exceeded 1000. The principal part of Morgan's brigade was militia, while Tarleton commanded the flower of the British army. He had, indeed, in every respect, the advantage; a ground favourable for the movements of his cavalry, of which he had 350; two pieces of artillery, the only pieces on the field; and the stimulus of recent and constant success to animate his troops. It is impossible under such circumstances, not to attribute Tarleton's defeat to his own ungovernable rashness. He came in sight of Morgan early in the morning, and had abundant time to rest his fatigued troops; but he had been accustomed to conquer by his rapid and impetuous movements, and without even examining the nature of Morgan's position, or explaining his views to his officers, he rushed into battle, careless of personal danger, and heedless of contingent consequences. It had not often been his fate, however, to meet with such an antagonist as Morgan, who though unwilling to seek an engagement under such disadvantages, was never unprepared for it. This brave and excellent officer evinced at the battle of the Cowpens the value of that experience which he had acquired at Quebec and Saratoga; and never was a General more bravely seconded than was Morgan on this day. The masterly movement of Lieutenant Colonel Howard, at the moment when Tarleton was grasping at victory, cannot

be too highly praised.—After securing the fruits of his victory, Morgan continued his march to the Catawba without delay, wisely apprehending that Cornwallis would seek to retrieve his losses by a rapid pursuit.

General Greene received intelligence of Morgan's victory, on the 19th of January, and of the advance of the British army at the same time. He immediately prepared to join Morgan, and despatched orders to Lee to bring in his legion. General Morgan had crossed the Catawba on the 29th, only a few minutes before the van of the British army appeared on its opposite banks. During the night, a heavy fall of rain so swelled the river, as to render its passage by the British troops impracticable; and the water continuing to descend from the mountains, the swell increased for two days. Morgan took advantage of this occurrence to send off his prisoners and baggage to Charlotteville in Virginia, whither General Stevens had been previously ordered by Greene to march with his brigade for their protection. General Greene had left the camp at Hicks's Creek under the command of General Huger and Colonel Otho Williams, Smallwood having obtained permission to return to Maryland; but hearing on his route to Morgan, that Cornwallis, having destroyed all the baggage of his army, was advancing with great rapidity, he sent off an express to those officers to march with all possible despatch to Salisbury; and on the 31st reached Morgan's position at Sherrard's Ford. The arrival of Greene made a considerable change in the disposition intended by Morgan, who, having assured the safety of his prisoners, was preparing to continue his retreat with the light troops over the mountains, which offering no

impediments to the rapid pursuit of Cornwallis, would have exposed his whole brigade to capture ; whereas by pursuing the route pointed out by Greene they escaped by a second instance of providential interference, in the sudden rise of the Yadkin.

Lord Cornwallis crossed the Catawba at day-light, on the morning of the 1st of February. He attempted to deceive Greene by feints of crossing at several places, while he moved with the main body to M'Cowan's Ford, some distance up the river, which he expected to find undefended. General Greene, however, had on the evening before directed General Davidson to take post opposite that ford with 300 North Carolina militia, with orders to dispute the passage as long as he could. Davidson unfortunately encamped rather too far from the bank of the river to act with any great effect ; a part of the British advance having gained the middle of the river before they were discovered. The firing of the centinels brought Davidson to the bank, but nearly the whole British army had by this time crossed. Davidson made a gallant and spirited opposition for a few minutes, but Lieutenant Colonel Hall who led the advance, pressed upon him so closely with his light infantry, that the militia soon yielded, Davidson himself being killed at the moment of their retreat. They dispersed in every direction through the woods and spread such terror and dismay among their countrymen, that though this district was composed of inhabitants generally friendly to the American cause, none assembled to join their retreating General.

The short conflict of the militia was attended with some loss on both sides. Lieutenant Colonel Hall was killed, and 36 of his light infantry were wounded.

Lord Cornwallis's horse was shot under him, and Leslie narrowly escaped being lost in the rapidity of the current. About ten of the militia were killed. Tarleton was detached in pursuit of the militia as soon as his division had passed, and came up with a party of them at Terrant's tavern, ten miles in front, whom he routed and dispersed without much difficulty.

General Greene disappointed in his expectation of being reinforced by the militia on his march, found it necessary to change his orders to General Huger, whom he now directed to proceed immediately to Guilford Court-House. He arrived at the Yadkin on the night after Cornwallis had crossed the Catawba, and passed a part of his army over the same night. The river was fordable for the horse, but it was necessary to transport the infantry in flats; and so near was the British van, that a smart skirmish ensued with our rear guard on the morning of the 3d, and several of our baggage wagons fell into the hands of O'Hara. The Americans had scarcely passed the river, when a sudden and rapid swell of its waters, rendered the passage of the British troops again impracticable. This was the fourth extraordinary instance that had occurred during the war, in which the American army had been saved by the critical operation of a natural cause. It was looked upon as a signal evidence of the favour of Heaven, and had a happy influence on the spirits of the troops, and inhabitants of the neighbouring country.

Cornwallis, again foiled in his hope of intercepting Morgan, and rightly supposing it was Greene's object to form a junction with his light forces somewhere about Guilford, moved with great rapidity to

the main army immediately to Irwin's. He added in his note: "I have not slept four hours since you left me, so great has been my solicitude to prepare for the worst. I have great reason to believe that one of Tarleton's officers was in our camp night before last." This was followed between 5 and 6 o'clock on the same day with the hurried, but agreeable intelligence that the troops had all crossed the ferry, and waiting to welcome the approach of the light army. Williams lost no time in obeying the orders, but moving with the utmost rapidity, and closely followed by Cornwallis, who had now also fallen into the road to Irwin's, reached the ferry at night, and enjoyed the inexpressible satisfaction of joining his General in safety on the opposite shore. Cornwallis had pushed the light troops with such vigour, that his van reached the river just as the rear of Williams had crossed, both armies having moved during the day, a distance of 40 miles.

Thus was this arduous, difficult and important retreat, upon which the safety of the southern army and of the southern states depended, happily accomplished without loss. Colonel Williams's services on this critical occasion entitled him to the warmest commendations of his country; and the alertness, industry, zeal, and promptitude of the Quarter Master General, Colonel Carrington, whose judicious arrangements gave effect to the movements of the army, deserved and received the thanks of the General. Greene delayed not to inform the commander in chief, the Governour of Virginia, and the Baron Steuben of his situation, urging them all to use their exertions to collect sufficient reinforcements to place him in a situation to be ready for whatever Corn-

wallis might attempt. Lord Cornwallis, however, was in no disposition to pursue Greene further, contenting himself with having driven him beyond the confines of the Carolinas. Having suffered his army to repose, therefore, on the banks of the Dan for two days, he commenced a slow march to Hillsborough, where he unfurled the royal standard, and called upon the inhabitants by proclamations, to repair to it for protection and support.

General Greene, on the other hand, being by no means satisfied to leave the British General in undisputed possession of North Carolina, and being partially reinforced by the union of a few volunteer militia under General Stevens, began to think of reversing the characters of the two armies, and becoming himself the pursuer. With this determination, on the morning of the 18th, the light troops were ordered to recross the Dan. These consisted of Lee's legion, two companies of the Maryland regulars, under Captain Oldham, and the South Carolina militia under General Pickens. They were ordered to watch the movements of Cornwallis, and to gain his front if possible, so as to intercept the parties of loyalists that were flocking to his standard. Greene, fearful that his orders might be misunderstood, and anxious to obtain the earliest and most correct information of the disposition of the British army, followed his light troops in the evening, with a small escort of Washington's cavalry, and came up with them at the distance of fifteen miles from Cornwallis. Here he repeated his instructions to the officers, enjoined upon them the necessity of acting in concert, and with cautious vigilance, and having spent the night with them, returned to his army.

On the 22d, the remainder of the troops recrossed the river, and advanced slowly towards the upper country.

Pickens and Lee, in the meantime, having received intelligence by one of their scouts, that Tarleton was advancing to protect a body of royalists that had embodied between the Haw and Deep rivers, moved rapidly on with a view of bringing him to action. In this, however, they were disappointed; but having crossed the Haw, they found two of Tarleton's staff, on the ground which he had just occupied, from whom they received such information as induced them to adopt the stratagem of passing for a reinforcement on their way to Tarleton. With this view, Lee put himself at the head of his cavalry, with his two prisoners in the centre, who were ordered on pain of instant death to conduct themselves so as to confirm the deception, and proceeded. The plan succeeded even beyond expectation; Lee had advanced but a short distance, before he was met by two of the royalists, who being completely deceived, gave him immediate information that Colonel Pyle with some hundred royalists was but a short distance from them, in search of Tarleton's camp. Lee, having despatched intelligence to General Pickens of this event, requesting him to make such a disposition of his riflemen, as would secure the success of their stratagem, sent forward one of the young countrymen who had manifested such joy at meeting him, with directions to Colonel Pyle to draw up his royalists on the side of the road, so as to give room to *Colonel Tarleton* to pass—for though Lee had at first announced himself as an officer commanding a reinforcement for Tarleton, the countryman in the joy of the meeting forgot this

circumstance, and persisted in mistaking him for Tarleton himself. Every thing concurred to favour the deception ; Colonel Pyle drew up, as requested, and fortunately on the right of the road, so that Lee passed his whole column along their front, before he came up with the Colonel. At the moment that he thought the surprise complete, Pickens's militia showed themselves to the enemy's left, who began immediately to fire upon the rear of Lee's cavalry : the consequence was that the whole column were soon compelled to turn upon the deceived royalists in self defence. The conflict was not of long duration, but it fell with a dreadful force upon the enemy, 90 of whom were killed, and a great number wounded. They were dispersed in every direction, but Lee from motives of humanity, forbade a pursuit ; he had in the first instance very unwillingly fallen upon them in self defence, as his object had been to secure their dispersion without bloodshed, and now that they were so far disabled as to render their reunion of little assistance to the British army, he was not desirous to press them with still further calamity.

Tarleton, during all this time was within one mile of the scene of action, reposing in fancied security and wholly ignorant of what was going forward. As soon as Lee and Pickens obtained intelligence of this circumstance, they pushed on with the hope of still being able to bring him to battle, and arrived in sight of his camp a little after sunset. The troops being considerably fatigued from the active labours of the day, it was determined to give them a night's repose and make the attack in the morning ; they accordingly placed themselves on the great road leading to Hillsborough, between the British and the upper country,

waiting for the morning's dawn. Here they were unexpectedly joined by Colonel Preston of Virginia, with 300 hardy mountaineers, whom he had hastily collected upon hearing of Greene's retreat and with whom he was now marching to overtake the American army, of whose subsequent movements he was until now ignorant. This reinforcement secured to them, as they thought, the capture of Tarleton and his corps, and they looked with anxious impatience for the appearance of light. Between the hours of 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning, the patrols communicated the intelligence that the enemy were retiring. Lord Cornwallis, it seems, fearful for the safety of Tarleton had sent him an express ordering him immediately to return, which had been repeated three times before Tarleton would consent to give up the chance of battle with Lee. It is difficult to say which of those two legionary parties was the more anxious to enter upon a trial of their skill. Both had shown themselves superlatively brave, active and zealous in their respective services; and both were at this moment stimulated by feelings of revenge. Tarleton, for the trick which had been practised upon Colonel Pyle; and Lee, for the barbarous treatment which his little bugler had met with some days before from a party of Tarleton's horse, during the retreat. The conflict would undoubtedly have been severe, but the superiority of Lee's horses would have given him greatly the advantage.

Thus disappointed in their hopes of a morning encounter, Pickens and Lee determined upon an immediate pursuit of the flying cavalry of Tarleton. For this purpose their pickets were called in, and pushed forward, while the main body followed with as much

rapidity as possible. There were three passages across the Haw, and it was doubtful which Tarleton would take ; but the ingenuity of Lee's corps soon discovered their route, by the help of lighted pine knots, by which they were able to see the trails of Tarleton's horses ; he had made several feints for the purpose of deceiving his pursuers, and then filed off to the ford about twelve miles distant. The cavalry by sunrise in the morning, came up with the rear of the enemy as they were decending the hill to the river ; but as the main body had crossed the ford and were posted on a commanding eminence for the protection of the rear, all chance of intercepting them was lost, and the further pursuit abandoned.

Lee deserves infinite credit for the manner in which he directed the movements of his legion during this arduous service, as does also General Pickens for his cordial concert and cooperation. They failed, it is true, in their favourite scheme of bringing Tarleton to battle ; but they performed what was even a more acceptable service to the commander, than the destruction of Tarleton would have been, they dispersed a large body of royalists, which so completely dispirited that class of our countrymen, that but few dared afterwards to embody themselves or make any attempt to repair to the army of Cornwallis.

General Greene, in the mean time, continued his gradual progress towards the head waters of the Haw river ; and hearing that Cornwallis had moved from Hillsborough the moment Tarleton joined him, and was marching towards the country which the latter had just quitted, he directed his course towards Almance, having placed Colonel Williams with the light corps, now augmented by the junction of Pick-

ons, Lee and Preston, at a sufficient distance in advance. Cornwallis had made the movement just mentioned, with the view of affording facilities to his numerous friends in that quarter to join him without being exposed to danger ; and was encamped upon the Alamance when he heard of the approach of Williams with the light troops of Greene's army. Greene was four miles in the rear of the light troops, and these were consequently exposed to great danger, should Cornwallis attack them, as it was probable he would : the situation of the American General became therefore exceedingly critical. If he moved up to his light troops, it would seem like an offer of battle, for which he was by no means prepared, having yet received but very few of the reinforcements upon which he had a right to calculate in the course of a few days: if he withdrew Colonel Williams from his advanced position, and called him back to the main army, even if that could be effected before Cornwallis could strike, it would have the appearance of dreading the enemy, which he was equally anxious to avoid. He continued, therefore, in his present situation, and endeavoured to keep the British General in ignorance of his intentions, by occasional movements between Troublesome Creek and Reedy fork, sometimes approaching and sometimes receding from his light troops.— Williams, in the mean time, trusting to the superiority of his cavalry, ventured repeatedly to strike at the foraging parties of the enemy, and by his rapid movements and frequent change of position, held the royalists completely in awe, and effectually counteracted all Cornwallis's efforts to obtain the intelligence which he so much desired, or the union of his friends which he so confidently expected.

At length early on the morning of the 6th of March, Cornwallis put his army in motion, and passing the Almance, pushed forward under cover of a thick fog, with the view of surprising Williams, driving him back to the main army, and forcing Greene to a general engagement. Lieutenant Colonel Webster, who led the British van, came unexpectedly upon the left of Williams, composed of some militia which had lately joined the army under Colonel Clarke, and threw them into some confusion. Lee, however, advancing to their support with his usual celerity, kept the enemy in check, and gave time to Williams to commence his retreat, which he effectually covered until the troops had crossed the Reedy fork. During the execution of this gallant movement, Lee had an opportunity of showing the superiority of his cavalry over those of the enemy, Webster having several times vainly endeavoured to force his rear guard into action with the British horse. Seeing the rear of Williams's troops safely over, Lee managed the retreat of his legion in a masterly manner and soon joined his friends on the opposite shore of the river. As soon as Lee had crossed, Colonel Williams continued his retreat towards Weitzett's Mill, leaving Lee and his legion supported by Colonels Clarke and Preston in his rear, to retard the enemy's march. Lee immediately formed his troops in a position to receive the enemy, the advance of which, consisting of 1000 men under Webster, soon made their appearance. Webster having crossed the creek in safety, (though according to Lee's account, no less than thirty two rifles were levelled at him by some of the best marksmen in the world, with deliberate aim,) instantly formed his troops, and advanced upon Lee's infantry, who were drawn up in

one line, its front parallel with the creek; as they ascended the bank, Lee directed his infantry to retire to the rear of his cavalry, and a skirmish ensued, in which Lee's centre was dislodged, and the enemy came in front of his cavalry. At this moment the British horse crossed the creek and posted themselves on the right of Webster as if with a view to cut off the retreat of Lee. In this situation Captain Rudolph was ordered to place himself opposite the enemy's cavalry and await their charge, while Lee in a masterly manner drew off his infantry and riflemen into the road, who moved on unmolested to Williams's camp: this being effected, Rudolph also turned off his cavalry, and the retreat was conducted without further interruption. Thus closed the first day of Cornwallis's manœuvres, and thus did he fail in both his designs, of cutting off Williams, and of forcing Greene to a general action.

Colonel Williams continued to retire until he gained a distance of seven miles in advance of the enemy, while General Greene having been apprised of his intentions in the early part of the day, and of Cornwallis's pursuit, retired across the Haw, to wait for further reinforcements. Cornwallis, in the mean time, finding his efforts to bring Greene to action unavailing, withdrew to the Quaker meeting house, within the forks of Deep river. General Greene, at length, received his long expected reinforcements, which consisted of a brigade of Virginia militia under General Lawson, two from North Carolina under Generals Butler and Eaton, and 400 regulars under Lieutenant Colonel Greene. This acceptable addition increased his force to about 4500 men of every description; of which about 1600 were regular soldiers. This rein-

forcement made it necessary for him to change the organization of his light corps, which he accordingly called in, and on the 14th, the army moved to Guilford Court house, within eight miles of Cornwallis's encampment.

Lord Cornwallis being now assured that battle was at hand, sent off his baggage, on the same day, to Bell's Mill, a little lower down the river, which fortunately for him, escaped the vigilance of Lee's legion, who were traversing the woods the whole night in search of it. Both Generals seemed now equally anxious for action, and early on the morning of the 15th, both moved from their respective positions, with the view of attacking each other in their camps. Lee's legion was ordered to move some distance in advance of the American army; and for the purpose of reconnoitering, Lee sent one of his troops ahead which met Tarleton's cavalry about two miles in advance. Tarleton charged upon them and they retired, but Lee coming up at the moment with the remainder of the legion, formed in close column and made a desperate charge, which compelled Tarleton to sound a retreat. The whole of the front section of the British cavalry were dismounted, many of them killed, and the rest made prisoners; while not one of Lee's dragoons was hurt. Lee continued to pursue Tarleton, until coming upon the advance guards of the main army, he was in his turn obliged to retire behind his infantry and riflemen, between whom and the guards, a sharp action commenced, and continued until the near approach of Cornwallis made it expedient to draw off the legion. These manœuvres of Lee gave time to General Greene to form in order of battle and wait the approach of the British army. His troops were drawn up, a little

more than a mile from Guilford Court house, on the skirts of a thick forest, opening upon a field through which the British advanced ; the first line consisting of North Carolina militia, under Generals Butler and Eaton, the second of Virginia militia led by Stevens and Lawson, and the third, of the Maryland and Virginia regular troops under Huger and Williams.—Lieutenant Colonel Washington with his cavalry, Captain Kirkwood's Delaware company, and Colonel Lynch's Virginia riflemen, covered the right flank ; and the left was guarded by Lee's legion and Colonel Clarke's Virginia riflemen. Captain Singleton was posted in the road, a little in front of the first line, with two small field pieces. The lines were so posted that no more than Singleton's company and the North Carolina militia, could be seen, the two other lines being covered by the thick wood.

Lord Cornwallis, whose force did not exceed 2500, drew up his troops in one line only—on the right were the Hessian regiment under Major de Buy, the 71st British, and the first battalion of guards, the whole commanded by Major General Leslie ; on the left were the 23d and 33d regiments under Colonel Webster, supported by the grenadiers and second battalion of guards, commanded by Brigadier General O'Hara : the German yagers, and light infantry of the guards remained near the artillery which moved along the road in the centre, under the orders of Lieutenant McCleod ; and Tarleton with his cavalry was drawn up in the rear of these.

The action commenced about half past one in the afternoon, by Captain Singleton, who opened his two pieces upon the van of the British as soon as it appeared. His fire was quickly returned by the royal artil-

lery ; and General Leslie advanced upon the North Carolina militia. These stood but one fire of the enemy, and then as at the battle of Camden, took to flight, with the exception of a few of Eaton's brigade, who stood by the militia under Clarke. Every possible attempt was made to rally them ; but, though not a man was hurt, they flew in wild and cowardly disorder, throwing away every thing that could impede their speed. Lee's legion and Clarke's militia were now left alone to stand the shock of Leslie's assault, who soon found himself so roughly handled that he was obliged to bring up his battalion of guards into line. At the same moment Lieutenant Colonel Webster moved upon the Virginia militia, and was received by them, with undaunted firmness and gallantry. Victory for a time seemed to declare in their favour ; for Washington had succeeded in turning Webster's flank by bringing Lynch's riflemen upon them with so galling a fire, that but for the prompt appearance of O'Hara with the grenadiers and second battalion of guards, the left wing of the enemy would have been thrown into complete confusion. This opportune assistance, however, enabled Webster by a judicious movement to change his front, and allow O'Hara to occupy his ground. Both now advanced a second time with fixed bayonets, and the Virginians were forced back upon the continentals. Lee and Clarke in the mean time gallantly sustained the action against Leslie, but were at length also compelled to give way.— Every corps of the British army except the cavalry, had now been brought into the line of battle, when our little band of continental troops were called upon to withstand their united attack. The conflict was long and bloody, and victory alternately perched upon

the banners of either army. The first push was made by Webster, against the right wing of the continental line, (composed of the first Maryland regiment under Colonel Gunby and Lieutenant Colonel Howard, Hawe's Virginia regiment, and Kirkwood's brave Delaware company,) who met him with such unshaken firmness, that he was compelled to give way in some disorder. Lieutenant Colonel Stuart at the same time with the second battalion of guards, attacked Colonel Ford's second Maryland regiment, (who were formed in the open field a little to the left of Gunby,) and compelled them to retire, leaving upon the field their two pieces of cannon. Stuart in the ardour of victory, pursued them into the wood where Gunby's regiment had been concealed from his view. Here he was unexpectedly saluted with a heavy fire which threw his battalion into confusion, and Colonel Washington at the same time charging upon him at the head of his dragoons, he was driven back in great disorder; Washington, and Howard (upon whom the command of the regiment had devolved, in consequence of Gunby's being dismounted) pursued him into the field, completed the route of his battalion, and recovered the two pieces which Ford had lost.

Victory seemed now no longer doubtful: Washington upon coming into the open field, believed Cornwallis himself, in his power, and rushing forward with the view of securing his prize, his cap fell from his head; he leaped on the ground to recover it, and at that moment the leading officer of his column was shot—for Cornwallis, upon perceiving the vigorous pursuit of Washington and Howard, had ordered up his artillery under Lieutenant McCleod, and opened a fire through his flying guards upon their pursuers—

the horse of the officer who was shot became unruly, and wheeling suddenly round galloped off the field—the whole of the cavalry, supposing this movement to have been directed, followed, and Washington was compelled to check his eager career. Webster in the mean time having rallied his grenadiers and 23d regiment, and O'Hara, though severely wounded, coming up to their support with the remnant of his first battalion and the 71st, they fell upon Howard, and Howe's Virginia regiment at the same moment. Thus was the contest renewed and warmly continued for some time longer with various success, until Tarleton who had been hitherto unengaged, rushed in with his fresh cavalry and decided the fortune of the day.

General Greene now, fearful of risking the entire loss of his army, ordered a retreat, which was conducted in perfect order and regularity, under cover of Colonel Greene's Virginia regiment, which had been from the first selected for this purpose, and kept out of the action, very much to the dissatisfaction of this brave and veteran officer, who burned with desire to take his part in the contest. It would be impossible, perhaps, justly to find fault with the arrangements of General Greene for this battle. The choice of his ground, the disposition of his forces, the ability with which he adapted his plan to his means, and the personal contempt of danger which he displayed throughout the action, bespoke no ordinary generalship. But it is probable if Colonel Greene, with the reserve, had been brought into action at the moment that Webster and Stuart were routed, victory would have declared in favour of the American arms.

The British loss in this memorable battle, exceeded 500 killed and wounded, among whom were seve-

ral of their best officers. Our loss was little more than 400 killed and wounded, of which more than three fourths fell upon the continentals. Major Anderson of the Maryland line was among the killed, and Generals Huger and Stevens among the wounded. Though the numerical force of General Greene nearly doubled that of Cornwallis, yet when we take into consideration the difference in the nature of those forces, the shameful conduct of the North Carolina militia, who fled at the first fire, never to return, the desertion of the second Maryland regiment, and that the reserve under Colonel Greene was not brought into the action, it will appear that our number but little exceeded that of the enemy. Our veteran troops, indeed, of every description, amounted to not more than 500 rank and file; whereas the whole of Cornwallis's troops were well disciplined, experienced soldiers. Upon the whole it was a well fought battle, leaving to the victors nothing to boast of, and to the vanquished nearly all they could have expected from victory; for Cornwallis so crippled, as to be unable to pursue, and so straitened for the means of providing for his broken force as to be compelled to leave his wounded behind, made a circuitous retreat of 200 miles from the scene of his victory, before he could find the means of shelter, subsistence, or rest. General Greene, on the contrary, retired quietly to his former position at the iron works on Troublesome Creek, where he soon prepared himself for another action, under the supposition that his Lordship would seek to follow up his advantages, and even marched in pursuit of his Lordship, the moment he heard of his having quitted Guilford. The vigour of his pursuit, indeed, showed that he was anx-

ious for a second opportunity of measuring swords with his foe; and his troops though badly clothed, and without food, were equally desirous of another chance of striking at the British regulars. But their efforts were fruitless; Cornwallis felt no disposition to turn upon his pursuers, and General Greene halted his army at Ramsay's mill. Thus ended the active and diversified campaign of the south, which upon the whole resulted in manifest advantages to the United States.

CHAPTER XVII.

Events of 1781 continued.—Revolt of the Pennsylvania troops at Morristown.—Sir Henry Clinton attempts to take advantage of the discontents.—His agents are delivered up by the mutineers at Princeton.—A committee of Congress meet them at Trenton, and adjust their claims.—The New-Jersey line revolt, are reduced to obedience, and their ringleaders executed.—Views of Washington with regard to the state of the country.—Arnold's expedition to Virginia—He destroys the stores at Richmond, Smithfield and elsewhere, and establishes himself at Portsmouth.—Washington calls upon the French commanders to cooperate with him in an expedition against Arnold.—The Marquis de la Fayette sent with a detachment to Annapolis.—Engagement of the French and English squadrons off Cape Henry.—Admiral D'Estouches retires to Newport.—The Marquis de la Fayette recalled from Annapolis, and ordered to Virginia.—Major General Phillips is sent with a strong detachment to reinforce the British army at Portsmouth, and takes the command.—His marauding excursions up the James River.—The Marquis de la Fayette arrives at Richmond, and is joined by the militia under Baron Steuben.—General Phillips moves with his forces to Petersburg.—The Marquis establishes himself near Richmond.—General Greene moves from Ramsay's mill, and advances to Cambden.—Marion and Lee invest Fort Watson and reduce it.—Battle of Cambden, and retreat of General Greene.—Lord Rawdon evacuates Cambden, and retires to Monk's Corner.—The post of Motte's surrenders to Marion and Lee.—The Americans reduce Orangeburg and Fort Granby.—Marion gains possession of Augusta.—Greene lays siege to Ninety-Six—attempts a storm and is repulsed.—Arrival of Lord Rawdon with reinforcements.—General Greene retreats.—Is pursued by Lord Rawdon to the Ennoree.—Evacuation of Ninety-Six.—Skirmishes of Lee's legion at Monk's Corner—at Quinley Bridge.—General Greene retires with his army to the high hills of Santee.

WHILE these things were transacting in the south, it was the fate of Washington to experience a renew-

al of those troubles and distresses, which had so constantly followed him into winter quarters. That interval from active operations which was spent by his adversary in ease and peaceful enjoyment, was destined always to augment the labours and sufferings of the American commander. Engaged in battle, or in marching from post to post, the American soldiers, for the most part badly clothed and fed, had no leisure to brood over their grievances; but the moment they were provided with comfortable shelter from the severities of the weather, when their officers vied with each other in endeavours to relieve their wants, and to mitigate their sufferings, the spirit of complaint broke forth; the efforts to alleviate their distresses, served but to bring them more forcibly to their minds. Nor is it wonderful, that men who had borne so much, who had murmured so long in secret, in the vain hope that their calamities would soon end, should at length lose their patience with their faith in Congress, and break out into open revolt.

No army ever suffered more than that under the immediate command of Washington, from the beginning to the end of the revolution. Without clothes, without money, and frequently for four days together without a mouthful of bread; in many instances compelled to serve beyond their period of enlistment, without receiving their arrearages, and with no prospect of being paid for future services; put off from time to time with promises of redress by Congress, and constantly disappointed; it would be difficult to decide, whether they deserve praise more for their long and patient suffering, or for the spirit which at length prompted them to seek redress for themselves. Many new causes now combined to ripen the discon-

tents of the army into open resistance. The new levies were to be supplied and paid by their respective states, and this produced an inequality in the supplies which could not fail to irritate the feelings of those who were neglected. Some of the new raised troops received their pay and bounty in gold, while those who had been long in service, had seen neither gold nor paper for twelve months. Those who had been enlisted to serve for three years, now at the expiration of that term, were told that their contract must be construed to extend to the termination of the war. The officers, instead of crushing in the bud the first symptoms of mutinous discontent, relaxed in their discipline, and required less of the soldiers, with a view to calm their irritation and stop their complaints. Nor were some of the officers themselves entirely free from the spirit of revolt: offended at some fancied preferences shown by the commander in chief, in his appointments, disgraceful parties were formed, who to show their resentment, sent in their resignations.

These causes, gradually strengthened by minor circumstances, at length produced the revolt of the Pennsylvania line; and the first day of the new year was signalized by their mutiny. About 1000 of them turned out under arms, and declared their resolution to march to Congress and obtain redress. General Wayne who had commanded them, and who was greatly esteemed and respected by them, used every exertion to quiet them; and for a time flattered himself that his influence over them would bring them back to their duties. But, though they listened to him with patience, their resolutions were too firm to be shaken by his arguments. Wayne, whether un-

consciously, in the ardour of his remonstrance, or designedly with a view to intimidate them, cocked his pistol; a hundred bayonets were instantly pointed at his breast, and the men cried out to him, "We love you, we respect you, but you are a dead man if you fire. Do not mistake us; *we are not going to the enemy*: on the contrary, were they now to come out, *you should see us fight under your orders, with as much resolution and alacrity as ever.*" It was difficult to turn men of such feelings from their purpose, by arguments or remonstrance. Three of the regiments had at first refused to join the mutineers, and had paraded under their officers with a view to quell the insurrection; but the appeals and threats of their comrades soon brought them over, and the mutiny became general. They seized upon six pieces of cannon, compelled the artillerymen to join them, and marched from the camp at night to the number of 1300. General Wayne and three other officers, for whom the mutineers had always evinced affectionate respect, after forwarding provisions to them, with the view of preventing their plunder of the inhabitants on their march through the country, concluded the next day upon following and mixing with them, in order if possible to restrain any licentious conduct. These officers were obliged to precede their entrance into the camp of the revolters with a flag; they had already chosen a sergeant-major to be their leader, and had conferred upon him the high sounding title of Major-General. They received the officers with great civility, and treated their advice with respect, but resolutely refused to listen to any terms short of an immediate and full redress of grievances.

Sir Henry Clinton upon receiving intelligence of this revolt in the army of the United States, set every engine in motion to turn it to the advantage of his cause. Agents were sent to meet the insurgents at Princeton, whither they had arrived on the 4th, with proposals from Sir Henry, the substance of which was, that they should be taken under the protection of the British government; be paid the whole amount of their claims upon Congress; and receive a free pardon for all past offences, upon the single condition of laying down their arms, and returning to their allegiance. It was added as a further inducement, that no military service would be required, but that it would be accepted if voluntarily offered. The agents were directed to dwell particularly upon the *inability* of Congress to satisfy their demands, and upon the certain severity of their punishment if they returned to their former ranks; the route was pointed out which it would be proper for them to take, and an assurance given, that a body of British troops should be held in readiness to protect them whenever they desired it.

While his agents were thus at work, Sir Henry himself passed over to Staten Island with a large body of troops, and commenced such arrangements as would enable him to move at a moment's warning; while at the same time his naval force was ordered to be in readiness to act in concert whenever circumstances should render it necessary. There can be no doubt, that Sir Henry Clinton's conduct in this affair, was perfectly justifiable by the laws of war; and that his efforts to bring over the revolvers by negotiation, was the wisest policy, which, under such circumstances, could have been adopted. It was not possible for

him, without risking more than the experiment was worth, to have passed directly to the continent, and have met this disorganized band of mutineers with the sword; for though it might have been easy and more honourable to have subdued them in battle, it was not so easy to reach them through a country, whose militia had so lately shown their inveterate hostility to the British name, and their active unanimity in support of their country's cause. But Sir Henry's schemes all failed. The mutineers had declared to Wayne in the outset, that they were "not going to the enemy," and they were faithful to their promise. Their conduct in relation to the agents of Sir Henry, is an extraordinary instance of the paramount influence of love of country over every other feeling, and of that singular combination of the noble and the vile, which is sometimes found mixed up in the formation of man. They not only spurned with disdain the favourable offers of Sir Henry, but delivered up his agents to General Wayne, to be dealt with according to the usages of war. The mutineers were soon after met at Princeton by a committee of the Pennsylvania council, who agreed to their demands, paid and dismissed those whose enlistment had expired, and about half of them went quietly home: the remainder continued their march to Trenton, where they arrived on the 9th, and were met by a committee of Congress, who in a few days made a satisfactory adjustment of their claims, and thus terminated this unhappy affair.

A similar spirit of revolt manifested itself soon afterwards in the troops of New-Jersey, about 160 of whom, paraded under arms, with an intention to follow the example of the Pennsylvania line; but the

paucity of their numbers made a different conduct towards them proper and necessary. They were speedily brought to unconditional submission at the point of the bayonet, and two of their ringleaders suffered death by the sentence of a court-martial. No further instance of open revolt occurred after this painful, but salutary example of justice; but it was impossible wholly to silence the murmurs of an army, who were suffering all the evils which could arise from an inadequate system of finance. The situation of the country at this period, cannot be better depicted, than in the words of Washington to Lieutenant Colonel John Laurens, who had lately been appointed special envoy to the court of Versailles, for the purpose of soliciting the requisite aids.

“To me it appears evident—1. That considering the diffused population of these states, the consequent difficulty of drawing together its resources, the composition and temper of part of its inhabitants, the want of a sufficient stock of natural strength as a foundation for revenue, and the almost total extinction of commerce, the efforts we have been compelled to make for carrying on the war, have exceeded the natural abilities of this country, and by degress brought it to a crisis, which renders immediate, efficacious succours from abroad, indispensable to its safety.—2. That notwithstanding, from the confusion always attending a revolution, from our having had governments to frame, and every species of civil and military institutions to create, from that inexperience necessarily incident to a nation in its commencement, some errors may have been committed in the administration of our finances, to which a part of our embarrassments is to be attributed; yet they are prin-

cipally to be ascribed to an essential defect of means, to the want of a sufficient stock of wealth, as mentioned in the first article, which, continuing to operate, will make it impossible, by any merely interior exertions, to extricate ourselves from those embarrassments, restore publick credit, and furnish the funds requisite for the support of the war.—3. That experience has demonstrated the impracticability long to maintain a proper credit without funds for its redemption.—4. That the mode, which for want of money has been substituted for supplying the army, by assessing a proportion of the produce of the earth, has hitherto been found ineffectual.—5. That from the best estimates of the annual expense of the war, and the annual revenues which these states are capable of affording, there is a large balance to be supported by credit. The resource of domestick loans is inconsiderable.—6. That the patience of the army is now nearly exhausted, which demonstrates the absolute necessity of a speedy relief, a relief not within the compass of our means.—7. That the people being dissatisfied with the mode of supporting the war, evils actually felt in the prosecution of it, may weaken the sentiments which began it.—8. That from all the foregoing considerations, result, first, the absolute necessity of an immediate, ample and efficacious succour of money large enough to be a foundation for substantial arrangements of finance, to revive publick credit, and give vigour to future operations secondly —The vast importance of a decided effort of the allied arms to this continent, the ensuing campaign, to effectuate once for all the great objects of the alliance, the liberty and independence of these states.—9. That next to a loan of money, a constant superiority

on these coasts, is the object most interesting.—10. That an additional succour of troops would be extremely desirable.—11. That no nation will have it more in its power to repay what it borrows, than this; our debts are hitherto small. The people are discontented, but it is with the feeble and oppressive mode of *conducting* the war, not with the war itself. A large majority are still firmly attached to the independence of these states.”

We have seen, that the arch-traitor Arnold, received from his new masters, as a reward for his treachery, the commission of Brigadier General in the British armies. He requested to be immediately employed in some expedition which would give him an opportunity of showing his zealous fidelity to his new engagements, and was accordingly despatched by Sir Henry, at the head of a large armament, to the Chesapeake. His force consisted of the Edinburgh regiment of 600 men, under Lieutenant Colonel Dundas, the Queen's rangers, of about the same number, commanded by Colonel Simcoe, Colonel Robinson's provincials, and about 200 royalists of Arnold's own raising, in the whole 1700 men. They were escorted by a considerable naval force, and on the 4th of January, Arnold landed his troops on the James River, a few miles below Richmond, and marched into that town on the following day without opposition. A scene of devastation and destruction immediately commenced, which too unhappily showed the change of spirit which had taken place in the breast of Arnold. The desolation he committed was not confined to publick property; private magazines and buildings were opened and their contents given to waste. While this fallen hero was thus indulging

his revengeful appetite, Simcoe with his Rangers, proceeded to Westham, eight miles distant, the seat of the only cannon foundery in the state, and unfortunately at that time the depository of the publick stores that had been removed from Richmond. Having destroyed these, he returned to Richmond, and on the 7th the whole party decamped and retired to their landing place at Westover. A few militia had by this time assembled at Charles city, only nine miles from the enemy, but they were soon dispersed, and on the 10th Arnold reembarked and proceeded in his work of destruction along the borders of the river. Smithfield and other places shared the fate of Richmond ; and on the 20th Arnold reached Portsmouth, where, hearing that the militia were rising in force against him, he commenced works of defence. But though a few had collected under the Baron Steuben, and Generals Nelson, Weedon and Muhlenbergh, they were for the most part without arms, in consequence of the late destruction, and the Baron was obliged to confine his operations to the protection of the vicinity from the plunder of small parties.

The news of these depredations on Virginia, reached Washington and the Congress, in the midst of their troubles arising from the discontents of the troops.—Unaided by the French naval force, it was impossible for Washington to undertake the expulsion of Arnold with any hope of success, and with their cooperation he had every reason to expect not only the complete destruction of Arnold's force, but the possession of the person of the traitor himself. He therefore concerted a plan in conjunction with the two commanders of the French land and sea forces, in which they seemed cordially to concur, and which on his own part was

immediately executed by sending the Marquis de la Fayette with 1200 men to Annapolis, with orders to march to Virginia to cooperate with the French force, which it was agreed should be immediately sent to the Chesapeake. But the French commanders, instead of sending their whole fleet with an adequate number of land forces, despatched only a few ships, without a single regiment, who merely looked into the Chesapeake and returned without effecting any thing but the capture of one British frigate at the entrance of the bay. Again Washington earnestly entreated of the Counts Rochambeau and D'Estouches, a more vigorous and effective assistance, and again it was promised. So confident was he that his plan could not fail to succeed, that he gave the most peremptory orders to the Marquis de la Fayette, to make no terms with Arnold which should secure him from the penalties of his crime. But he was destined once more to be disappointed, from the dilatory movements of the French Admiral, who did not put to sea until the 8th of March, and then only with eight ships. He was followed in two days by the British Admiral with an equal force, and the two fleets came in contact with each other off the capes of Virginia on the 16th. An engagement of course ensued, which was so indecisive in its results, that both sides claimed a victory. If any victory, however, could be said to have been obtained, it belonged of right to the British; for the French Admiral was driven from his design and compelled to return to Newport.

Thus ended the hopes of Washington from the promised succour of the allies. This failure made it necessary for him to recall the Marquis from Annapolis, who accordingly returned to the Head of Elk, with

his troops, whence he was ordered to proceed to Virginia and take command of the forces there raised.

Sir Henry Clinton had early seen the hazard in which Arnold would be placed by the plans of Washington, and a considerable detachment under Major General Phillips, lately released from imprisonment, immediately followed the sailing of the British Admiral, and landed at Portsmouth on the 25th March.—This reinforcement augmented the British forces in Virginia to a formidable army, of upwards of 3500 men, of which Major General Phillips now assumed the command. Having completed the fortifications which Arnold had commenced, this officer embarked 2500 of his troops and proceeded up the James River. Landing at Barwells ferry, he took possession of Williamsburg without opposition, and thence sent a detachment to Yorktown, where a few naval stores and shipping were destroyed. This effected, General Phillips again embarked, and continuing his course up the river, landed at City Point, which was then the *depot* of supplies for General Greene's army, and a place of considerable importance to the planters of Virginia, as from thence was exported nearly all the tobacco of the state. Having completed the work of destruction here, Phillips turned his attention to Petersburg. Arrived at this place, he for the first time met with any thing like opposition. The whole regular force of the state being then with General Greene's army in South Carolina, the Baron Steuben had been enabled to collect only about 2000 militia, one half of which was on the north side of the James River, under General Nelson, and with the other he made an effort to protect Petersburg; but his opposition was

necessarily ineffectual, and the entrance of the British into the town forced him to retreat.

To follow General Phillips through a minute detail of this disgraceful marauding expedition, would be no less disgusting to the reader, than an unnecessary loss of time to the writer: suffice it to say, that having destroyed every thing of value, both publick and private property, in Petersburg, and all the neighbouring places, wherever stores or *tobacco* were deposited, he directed his course to Manchester, a little village immediately opposite to Richmond. Between these two places, a small naval force had been collected since the visit of Arnold, with a view to cooperate with the intended expedition of the French fleet; this now became the object of General Phillips, and having first destroyed the tobacco in Manchester, he summoned the Commodore of the little fleet to surrender; this being refused, a battery of two or three small pieces was opened upon them, and after the first discharge, the *gallant* Commodore scuttled his vessels and abandoned them, though in his answer to the summons he had declared his intention *to hold out to the last extremity*. The fortunate arrival of the Marquis de la Fayette at this moment with his regulars, who had been joined by the 2000 militia under the Baron Stenben and General Nelson, arrested Phillips's design of carrying the same destruction to the north side of the river which he had just completed on the south; he therefore turned his steps towards Bermuda Hundred, opposite City Point where his fleet still lay. After some manœuvring on both sides, in which the Marquis found it necessary frequently to change his position in order cautiously to watch the motion of his adversary, Phillips received intelligence of Cornwallis's approach

with orders to meet him at Petersburg, whither, therefore, he again directed his march. The Marquis, desirous, if possible, of anticipating the British General in this movement, crossed the James river and attempted by forced marches to gain Petersburg before him; but receiving orders from General Greene, under whose authority he acted, not to risk any general action, and finding that Phillips preceded him, he turned about, recrossed the river, and took a position a few miles below Richmond.

In the mean time, General Greene, whom we left encamped on the Deep river, having determined as the most advantageous mode of employing his forces, to lead them back into South Carolina, and attack the enemy's strong post at Cambden, and having detached Lieutenant Colonel Lee with his legion to join General Marion, with directions for that officer to cooperate in the general plan by breaking up the communications between Cambden, Ninety Six and Charleston, put his army in motion on the 9th of April, and on the 20th encamped at Logtown, within sight of the enemy's works.

Marion and Lee, having formed a junction of their forces on the 8th, proceeded without delay to the execution of that part of the plan entrusted to them; and on the 15th in the evening, they invested Fort Watson on the Santee. This was a small post which had been just established, with a garrison of 114 men, by Colonel Watson whom Lord Rawdon had sent in pursuit of Marion, at the head of 500 men, soon after the battle of Guilford. After erecting this fort, which was called by his own name, Watson had continued his fruitless search after Marion. Neither the garrison nor its assailants were provided with artille-

ry ; and the ground on which the defences of the former were erected being an old Indian mound, upwards of thirty feet high, the only chance of reducing them, was to cut off their supply of water, which was procured from a neighbouring lake. The commandant of the garrison, however, soon provided other means of supply, and the hope of effecting its reduction would probably have been abandoned, but for an ingenious and novel contrivance devised by Major Mayham. This was to cut down a suitable quantity of trees, and by piling them upon each other, to erect a sort of tower, higher than the mound, from which the riflemen could fire into every part of the fort. The plan was adopted and succeeded : and on the 23d the garrison surrendered by capitulation.

The army of General Greene after detaching Lee's legion, amounted to scarcely 1200 men of all classes, a force too small either to attempt to carry the works at Cambden by storm, or to make a complete investment. He had expected to be joined here by General Sumpter whose force with the addition of that under Marion and Lee, would have enabled him to commence operations with a certainty of success ; but being disappointed by Sumpter, and hearing that Colonel Watson was on his return to Cambden with the remainder of his force of 500 men, he thought it advisable to decamp from the position he had taken on his arrival, and cross over to the east side of the town.— Sending off his baggage, therefore, under Colonel Carrington, to a safe position on the north of Lynch's creek, he crossed the Sandhill creek, and placed himself in the more direct road of communication with Marion and Lee. Here he soon received intelligence of the operations of these two active officers, which

rendered it probable that Colonel Watson would either be intercepted or impeded in his attempt to join Lord Rawdon, and which induced him once more to change his position, and retire to the north side of the town, where he encamped on Hobkicks hill. He had despatched orders to Colonel Carrington to rejoin him without delay, and was now encamped in order of battle waiting anxiously for the expected reinforcement under Sumpter.

Lord Rawdon was not long in deciding upon his course of conduct. Believing that every moment's delay would diminish his chance of success, while it would probably add to the strength of his adversary, he advanced on the morning after Greene's return, 25th of April, with the hope of finding him unprepared for battle. His whole force amounted only to 900 : that of Greene, as we have said, was little short of 1200. It was Lord Rawdon's design to move unperceived upon the American camp, and with this view he took a circuitous route along the swampy margin of Pinetree creek which brought him upon the left of Greene, his most assailable point. The cautious prudence and foresight of Greene were now manifest ; for though he hardly thought it possible that Lord Rawdon would dare to offer him battle in his present situation, he had provided for this remote contingency by forming his camp in order of battle. The regulars in one line were formed with their center on the Waxhaw's road, which ran through the encampment, the militia and cavalry at a suitable distance in the rear, as a reserve, and strong pickets were posted in the front and flanks.

Colonel Carrington, the Quarter Master General, had just rejoined the army, having with him a sup-

ply of provisions, which the men were employed in cooking for breakfast, when his Lordship's van engaged our piquets, under the command of Captains Benson, of Maryland, and Morgan of Virginia. These two companies, supported by the veteran Kirkwood with his brave Delaware company, met the unexpected shock with firmness, and gallantly fought their way back to the lines of the encampment. This gave General Greene the little time required to prepare for the battle. The second Maryland regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel Ford, was ordered to advance upon the enemy's right flank, while the first under Colonel Gunby and Lieutenant Colonel Howard was ordered to charge in front. The British left was in like manner attacked by the Virginia regiments, under General Huger, and the two Lieutenant Colonels Campbell and Hawes, and led on by General Greene himself. The artillery conducted by Colonel Harrison, was posted in the centre, and opened with good effect. Thus the whole of the continentals were engaged at once, and Greene feeling himself assured of victory, ordered Washington with his cavalry to gain the enemy's rear so as to cut off his retreat. The fire of the whole line now became animated: Washington had accomplished his orders in handsome style and was charging with irresistible effect in the rear, while Huger on the right and Hawes in the centre were evidently pressing with advantage on the foe. At this critical moment, when the fate of Lord Rawdon was suspended by a thread, Gunby's first Maryland regiment, which had been ordered to advance and charge bayonets without firing, and which had for some time bravely obeyed the order, began an irregular fire from the right which gradually extended through the whole

regiment: Thus forgetting their orders in the first instance, and quickly losing all selfcommand, the two right companies fell back, and the remaining four being thrown into some confusion, but still keeping their ground, Gunby inconsiderately ordered the regiment to reform on their *right* company. This of course occasioned a retrograde movement, the enemy rushed forward with the shout of victory, a panick seized the regiment, from which all the efforts of Colonels Williams, Gunby and Howard, could not recover them. The remaining continentals maintained the contest a short time longer, but Lieutenant Colonel Ford of the second Maryland regiment, being mortally wounded, that regiment also was thrown into disorder and fell back. No prospect now remained of recovering the order of battle, and General Greene ordered a retreat, which was effected in good order and without loss. Washington who had in the course of the action taken near 200 prisoners, some of whom he parolled on the field, was now obliged to relinquish the greater part of these evidences of his gallantry, and make good his retreat. He succeeded, however, in carrying off 50 of his prisoners.

The enemy pursued for about three miles, when Washington turned upon them with his cavalry and a detachment of infantry, and finding the New York volunteer horse, somewhat in advance of the main body, made a rapid charge, killed a number, dispersed the remainder, and effectually checked all further pursuit; the enemy returned to Camden, and General Greene continuing his retreat across Saunders' creek, encamped for the night about four miles from the field of battle, which lay covered with the dead of both armies. Our loss in this engagement, in killed,

wounded and missing, was 268—among the former were Lieutenant Colonel Ford and Captain Beatty, of the first Maryland regiment, two officers of great bravery and worth. The enemy's loss was nearly equal, including the prisoners so gallantly brought off by Colonel Washington : their killed, however, amounted only to 38, among whom was but one officer.

The issue of this battle can hardly be accounted for upon any of the common principles that influence the decision of human affairs. Hitherto the disappointments of General Greene at the moment of victory, had been occasioned by the fears of militia, unaccustomed to the noise and din of battle, who have fled without cause and dreaded when there was no danger. Here a regiment upon which all his hopes were fixed, which had behaved with such heroick bravery at the battle of the Cowpens, and which at the subsequent battle of Guilford had driven back the guards, and followed them almost to the mouth of the enemy's artillery, a regiment composed for the most part of veterans, now gave way before an inferiour enemy, when every circumstance of the battle was in their favour. Notwithstanding the efforts of Colonel Gunby to lead the regiment again to the charge, so much censure rested upon that officer, that he felt it due to his reputation to demand a court of inquiry. The court declared his conduct unexceptionable, but Greene still maintained the opinion that the order for the regiment to fall back upon its right company led to the disgraceful conduct which followed.

The day after the battle General Greene retired to Rudgely's mill, whence he despatched orders to Lee to join him with his legion ; but these orders were again

countermanded, on learning the probability of their intercepting Colonel Watson, and Greene, with a view of cutting off the supplies from Lord Rawdon, who, he knew, was in too weak a state without this reinforcement, to make another attempt upon him, moved again into the vicinity of Cambden. Colonel Watson after a long, circuitous, and dangerous march, by which he succeeded in eluding the active vigilance of Marion and Lee, at length reached Cambden on the 7th of May. General Greene, rightly presuming that the arrival of this succour would induce the British commandant to seek another engagement, for which he was not at all prepared, relinquished his position near Cambden, and moved to the high hills behind Sawney's creek.

This timely movement of General Greene, shows the judgement and penetration of the American commander, in a conspicuous point of view, for Lord Rawdon lost not a moment after the junction of Watson's troops, in crossing Cambden ferry with a view of getting upon Greene's rear. Disappointed by the unexpected retreat of his adversary, Lord Rawdon followed him to his present position, where after vainly endeavouring to draw him out, and finding the position too strong for any hope of a successful attack, he left him untouched, and retraced his steps to Cambden.

Marion and Lee, in the mean time, finding that Watson had escaped them, turned their attention to the post at Motte's, near the junction of the Congaree and Santee rivers, which soon yielded to their vigorous attack. The loss of this post was a severe blow to the British commander, as it was the depot of a large quantity of supplies intended for Cambden. On

the 10th, Lord Rawdon, believing that the longer occupation of Cambden would be attended with no advantage, abandoned that post, and retired to the south of the Santee, having first destroyed the works, the mill, jail, several other buildings, and every thing of value which could not be taken away. His lordship arrived at Nelson's ferry on the very day that Major M'Pherson was compelled to surrender the fort at Motte's, but being unable to render any assistance, he continued his march to Monk's Corner, fearful the safety of Charleston might be endangered, from the spirit which now every where began to manifest itself among the people. Thus though the British arms gained the victory at Cambden, a victory too, which gave to Lord Rawdon deserved honours, the result was rather favourable than otherwise to the American cause.

The surrender of Motte's was followed by that of Orangeburg, Fort Granby, and the whole line of British posts in South Carolina, with the exception of Ninety-Six and Charleston. General Greene, having broken up his post at Sawney's Creek upon the evacuation of Cambden by Lord Rawdon, moved forward with his army, and arrived at Fort Granby, the day after it had surrendered to Lee, the 15th of May. He immediately despatched Lee to join General Pickens in the neighbourhood of Augusta, and after reposing his troops for a few days, proceeded himself to the reduction of Ninety-Six.

Lee accomplished the march with his legion, (a distance of 75 miles) in less than three days; and hearing on his arrival in the vicinity of Augusta, that the annual present from the British to the Indians, consisting of arms, ammunition, blankets, and many

other valuable articles, had just been received, and were then deposited in Fort Galphin, at Silver Bluff, about twelve miles below Augusta, under charge of two companies from the garrison of the latter place, he determined to venture upon gaining possession of them. Leaving Major Eaton with the main body of his legion, he made a forced march with a detachment of his infantry, mounted behind his dragoons, and on the 21st in the morning, reached the fort. His plan of attack was so well arranged, that the fort was reduced without the loss of a man, and the whole of its valuable stores fell into his hands. A junction was formed on the same day with the militia under General Pickens, and they proceeded to a formal investiture of Augusta. This place was protected by two forts, a strong one in its centre, called Fort Cornwallis, and a smaller one about half a mile up the river, where Colonel Grierson was posted with a party of militia, the whole under the command of Colonel Brown, an officer who had committed many wanton enormities, and who had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the inhabitants, who were friendly to the American cause. The smaller fort being reduced and its garrison made prisoners, the united force of the two American officers was turned upon Fort Cornwallis, the commander of which gallantly resisted all their efforts for more than a week, until resort was had to the high battery, which had been recommended by Major Maham and so successfully tried against Fort Watson. Planting their only piece of cannon upon this high battery, Colonel Brown was soon compelled to accept the terms of capitulation offered by the besiegers, and on the 5th of June, the fort was put into their hands. The garrison which

consisted of about 300 men, made several desperate sallies during the siege, and Brown did every thing which skill and bravery could do to counteract the operations of the assailants. The Americans lost about 40 men, killed and wounded.

General Greene, after remaining a few days near Fort Granby, at which place he was joined by General Sumpter, proceeded directly to Ninety-Six, and arrived before it the 22d May. This was by far the most considerable post occupied by the British in South Carolina, with the exception of Charleston, and was garrisoned with 560 men, (nearly three fourths of whom were regulars) under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Cruger. The force under General Greene was upwards of 900. The British commandant had been some time before informed of General Greene's intention to assail him, and had made every preparation for strengthening his works, and making a vigorous stand. The village was defended by three fortified works, the principal one of which, called the star fort, was situated on its right, on the left a stockade fort had been erected on an eminence, particularly with a view of protecting a rivulet which ran at its foot, and from which the garrison was supplied with water; the prison within the village, constituted the third fortification.

The direction of the preparations for a regular siege, was entrusted to Colonel Kosciusko, who overlooking the obvious advantage of cutting off the supply of water, commenced his operations against the star fort. This was the strongest point of the enemy's defence, and the ground was scarcely broke, when they erected a platform in one of the salient angles of the fortress, upon which three pieces of ar-

tillery were mounted by noon on the 23d of May, and under cover of their fire, a sallying party rushed out upon the guards and working parties of our engineer, and drove them in before any detachment could be brought to their assistance. They demolished the incipient works of our engineer, killed several men and carried off the intrenching tools. They were recommenced on the night of the same day, but with more caution, and the siege seemed to promise a tedious and irksome labour. On the 8th of June, General Greene was further reinforced by the arrival of Lee from Augusta, and this active officer was directed to take post on the enemy's left, and commence his approaches against the stockade. His operations were vigorous and rapid, and notwithstanding the repeated sallies of Cruger by night, in some of which he succeeded in destroying the labours of the day, the besiegers were soon in a situation to be fearless of further resistance. Cruger was summoned to surrender; but his reply announced his determination to hold out to the last extremity.

Thus were the two parties situated when, nearly at the same time, intelligence was received by both, that a considerable reinforcement to the British army had arrived from Ireland on the 3d of June, and that Lord Rawdon was approaching to the relief of Ninety-Six, with near 2000 men. This intelligence infused new vigour into the besieged, and rendered it necessary for the besiegers speedily to bring their operations to a conclusion, either by storming the place, or raising the siege, and marching to meet his lordship. It seemed to be the unanimous and ardent wish of the troops to attempt a storm, in the success of which they felt every confidence. General

Greene, having given orders to Sumpter, and detached his cavalry under Colonel Washington, to watch the approach of Lord Rawdon, and harrass and retard his march as much as possible, resolved to gratify the ardour of his troops, and orders were accordingly given to prepare for a storm. On the 18th, at noon, the assailing columns were prepared to move. That on the right, composed of Lee's legion of infantry, and Captain Kirkwood's Delaware company, was led by Lee; the left column consisting of the first Virginia regiment, and a detachment of Marylanders, was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Campbell. Each column was preceded by a forlorn hope, that of the first, under the command of Lieutenants Duval, of Maryland, and Selden, of Virginia, and that of the last under Captain Rudolph of the legion. All the batteries were at the same time opened, and at the first shot the van guards entered the enemy's ditch; they were immediately followed by their respective columns, who rushed forward under a furious cannonade, and Captain Rudolph pushing boldly through the enemy's pikes and bayonets, quickly possessed himself of the redoubt on the left. On the right, affairs were not so prosperous; the enemy perceiving the desperate struggle made by Selden and Duval in the ditch, who had well nigh succeeded with their grappling hooks in pulling down the sandbags which covered the star fort, entered the ditch from a sally port in two divisions, and fell upon the parties of both these officers at the same moment. The conflict for a time was dreadful: the assailants sustained the fire not only of the sallying parties, but of those who occupied the parapets, for nearly an hour, until Deval and Selden were both severely wounded,

and General Greene ordered their brave detachments to be called off. In the evening the party who gained possession of the stockade were also drawn in, and on the following day General Greene, hearing of the near approach of Lord Rawdon, commenced his retreat.

Our loss during the siege, amounted to 185 killed and wounded, among the former of whom, was Captain Armstrong of the Maryland line. The necessity of abandoning the siege, when nothing was wanting to its complete success, but a little longer perseverance, was a galling disappointment, not only to the General, but to his little army. Never was more determined bravery displayed, under any circumstances, than in this siege, which in the grand scale of European war, would be regarded as too trifling to deserve a place in history. Delighted with the gallant conduct of his troops, General Greene continued a slow and regular retreat across the Saluda, and the Enoree, to the last of which places Lord Rawdon pursued him; but finding it impossible to overtake him, his lordship returned. Arrived at the Cross-roads, and learning that his enemy was marching to the Congaree, General Greene, having previously despatched Lee with his corps to watch his motions, sent off the invalids and baggage towards Camden, and marched with the remainder of the army towards Fort Granby.

Lord Rawdon prepared to evacuate the post of Ninety-Six, immediately after his return; and having despatched orders to Lieutenant Colonel Stuart to meet him with his regiment from Charleston, and left Colonel Cruger to conclude some arrangements which he had entered into with the royalists, his lord-

ship with about 900 men marched to Friday's Ferry on the Congaree. The orders of Cruger were to abandon the post as soon as the loyalists had made their election whether to follow him, or remain and protect themselves, and then to pursue his route along the southern bank of the Edisto to Orangeburg.

Lee kept close upon the enemy's left and rear, until his arrival at Friday's Ferry, the point of his expected junction with the regiment of Stuart, where a detachment of his dragoons under Captain Eggleston, fell upon a foraging party of his lordship, and brought off 45 prisoners, without the loss of a man. His lordship here found himself in a critical situation, for trusting with confidence to his being joined at this place by Lieutenant Colonel Stuart, the greater part of his army had been left with Colonel Cruger; but fortunately for him, Lee was equally disappointed in not meeting with Generals Sumpter and Marion, whom he had expected to fall in with before his arrival at the ferry: their junction would have been the means of entirely cutting off his lordship. Lee of himself, however, was unable to offer him any further interruption, and without waiting to know the cause of Colonel Stuart's failure to meet him, his lordship continued his march down the Edisto to Orangeburg, and on the following day was joined there by Stuart with his regiment, and a convoy of provisions.

General Greene, in the mean time, who had received intelligence of the march of Stuart from Charleston, with a heavy convoy, had ordered Marion and Washington to make an attempt upon him under the idea that that they would be in time afterwards to join Lee. This attempt, to which Lord Rawdon owed

his lucky escape at the Congoree, failing as we have seen, General Greene called in his light troops, and the militia under Sumpter and Marion, leaving Pickens to watch the motions of Colonel Cruger, and marched to a small branch of the North Edisto, within four miles of his Lordship's position at Orangeburg, where his united force arrived on the morning of the 12th July. In the evening General Greene reconnoitered his Lordship's position, and finding it too strong to be attacked with any promise of speedy success, and knowing that Cruger was on his way from Ninety Six with an additional force of 1400 men, he contented himself with offering battle ; and upon its being declined, he retired with the troops on the same evening to a distance of seven miles. On the following day he detached the light troops under Sumpter, Marion and Lee, towards Charleston, and moved with the main body of his army by slow marches to the high hills of Santee, which he reached on the 16th of July.

The detachment marched by three different routes under their respective commanders, and after breaking up the post of Dorchester, and dispersing a body of mounted refugees, they united at Monk's Corner, then occupied by the 19th regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel Coates. Their object of attacking this post, was defeated by the escape of the enemy during the night, who very adroitly eluded the vigilance of all these officers, set fire to their stores, and retreated to the eastern side of Cooper river. Lee pursued the next morning and overtook them near Quinby bridge, eighteen miles distant. The enemy's rear guard consisting of 100 men, surrendered upon the first charge of Lee's dragoons without firing a musket, and leav-

ing them in charge of a few militia horse, Lee continued his pursuit after the main body. His advance company under Captain Armstrong, came in sight of them just after they had passed Quinby bridge, where they had halted for their rear guard: they had removed the fastenings of the plank that covered the bridge, so as to be ready as soon as their rear guard had passed it to throw them into the creek. Hazardous as it was for the cavalry to pass it in this situation, Armstrong pushed over with the first section of his company, and several of the planks were thus thrown entirely off, leaving its passage still more hazardous for the second section, which nevertheless, led on by Lieutenant Carrington, made the leap over the chasm, and joined their commander. Most of the enemy fled in terror at the bold attack of Armstrong, leaving their gallant commander Coates in single combat with the American Captain. Lieutenant Colonel Coates had placed himself on the side of a wagon, where with equal courage and dexterity, he successfully defended himself, until his men were sufficiently recovered from this sudden panick to rally and come to his assistance. Lee in the mean time arrived at the bridge with his third section, and found it now wholly impassable; the creek was not fordable; and Armstrong and Carrington were compelled to relinquish the victory they had so gallantly won, and save themselves, by a rapid movement up the creek, which they crossed at the first fording place and rejoined their corps. Marion came up soon after with the infantry of the legion, but the enemy had by this time posted themselves so strongly in a house, that these officers were unable to dislodge them; and finding themselves within reach of attack from Charleston, they deemed

it prudent to retire, and in a few days the whole army were united at Greene's position on the high hills of Santee.

The enemy lost in these several skirmishes many killed and wounded, and upwards of 140 prisoners, besides all the baggage of the 19th regiment, and its military chest, together with several wagons and 100 horses. Thus closed the laborious, active and diversified campaign of South Carolina for the season; and though General Greene had been unfortunate in most of his general engagements, the wisdom of his measures will not be called in question. He had an arduous duty to perform, which he executed in a manner, that raised him daily in the confidence and esteem of his army and the country. He had difficulties to encounter in every step of his progress, enough to have appalled a mind less firmly devoted to the great cause of the country. He had sworn to recover the southern states from the enemy, or die in the attempt; and so far, even without any brilliant victories, he had succeeded in driving their invaders from most of their strong holds, and reestablishing in both the Carolinas and Georgia, the authority of the United States.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Events of 1781 continued.—Capture of Mr. Laurens on his way to Holland.—Maryland accedes to the confederation.—Death of General Phillips.—Cornwallis enters Virginia.—Marquis de la Fayette forms a junction with General Wayne.—American stores destroyed at the Point of Fork.—Baron Steuben escapes with his levies.—Tarleton enters Charlottesville.—Narrow escape of the Governour and Legislature of Virginia.—Extensive destruction of Tobacco and other American property by the British army.—The enemy are intercepted by the Marquis in their attempt upon Albemarle.—Baron Steuben succeeds in joining the Marquis.—Cornwallis retires down the James river.—Skirmish between Butler and Simcoe on the Chickahominy.—Battle of Greenspring.—Cornwallis crosses the river and retires to Portsmouth.—Moves from thence to York and Gloucester.—Affairs of the North.—Washington and Count Rochambeau plan an attack against New-York.—Sir Henry Clinton is deceived, and the allied armies move to Virginia.—Arrival of the Count de Grasse.—Action between the French and British fleets off the Capes of Virginia.—The Count de Barras enters the Chesapeake.—Washington joins the Marquis de la Fayette and St. Cimon at Williamsburg.—The combined armies move towards York.—General Greene moves from the hills of Santee.—Execution of Colonel Hayne at Charleston.—Temper with which Greene marches to the enemy.—Battle of the Eutaw Springs.—The enemy retire to Charleston.—Expedition of Arnold against New-London.

SLOW as had been the progress of the United States towards independence at home, the success of their correspondence abroad, had been great beyond their most sanguine hopes and expectations. Russia was almost the only European power which had refused to receive their agents, or to acknowledge their independence; France and Spain were already among

their allies, and the late declaration of war by Great Britain against the Dutch united Provinces, gave fair prospects that that power would soon unite in the alliance. This event, so advantageous to the United States, had been brought about by the capture of Mr. Laurens, late president of Congress, who had been appointed envoy to Holland, with suitable instructions to improve the good disposition which had been manifested by the Batavian Provinces towards the United States, and prepare the way for their admission of a Minister plenipotentiary. The papers found upon Mr. Laurens, fully explained the nature of his mission, and the part which had been taken by Holland, against which an immediate declaration of war was published. Mr. Laurens was committed to the tower as a state prisoner, and treated with rigorous severity. His capture and confinement, made it necessary for Congress to appoint some other person to Holland, and Mr. John Adams then in France, was accordingly commissioned as Minister Plenipotentiary to the States General.

On the 1st of March the representatives in Congress from the state of Maryland, in pursuance of an act of their legislature, passed on the 1st of January, signed the articles of confederation, and thus completed the ratification of that instrument, notice of which was immediately given to the ministers in Europe, with directions to communicate the circumstance to the courts at which they respectively resided.

We have seen that the Marquis de la Fayette, finding himself unable to intercept the progress of General Phillips to Petersburg, and urged by General Greene to avoid a general action, retired with his army to the north side of the James river, a few miles

below Richmond. General Philips, who had made a rapid movement to that city, by order of Lord Cornwallis, lived but a few days after his entrance into it; he had been for some time ill with a bilious fever, and died on the 13th May. Cornwallis, having met with little or no interruption in his march from Wilmington, entered Petersburg on the 20th. The army of his lordship was now so considerable, (being increased by various reinforcements to near 8000,) that he did not scruple to express his contempt for his adversary, and flatter himself with the assurance that Virginia would soon yield to the power of his arms. The whole force of the Marquis did not exceed half that number, and nearly three fourths of them were raw militia, officered, however, for the most part, by gentlemen who had gained considerable experience in the continental service. Cornwallis remained no longer at Petersburg, than was necessary to give information to Sir Henry Clinton of his situation and views, and to his officers in the south, such orders as his future expectations dictated, and on the 24th of May, moved with the army to James River. Having crossed it at Westover, he proceeded to White Oak Swamp. The Marquis de la Fayette, being in no condition to do more than watch his motions, moved at a cautious distance, and took a position behind the Chickahominy, on the road to Falmouth, where the Virginians had a valuable manufactory of arms. Here also he hoped to form a junction with General Wayne, who had been detached from the north with a reinforcement for the army in Virginia.

Cornwallis, who knew that Wayne was on his march, was desirous of forcing la Fayette into bat-

tle before the junction could take place, and with this view followed him with great celerity across the Chickahominy; but the Marquis disappointed his lordship, by retiring beyond the Pamunky, Lieutenant Colonel Mercer having joined him on the march with a new raised troop of dragoons. Here he was greatly alarmed at the appearance of the light corps of the enemy under Tarleton, and began reluctantly to prepare for battle, supposing the whole British army to be near at hand; but finding that Tarleton's party was no more than a patrol considerably in advance of the pursuing army, the Marquis continued his retreat, and after a series of masterly manœuvres in which he displayed great prudence, he effected a junction with Wayne at Racoon Ford. This gave an addition of 800 Pennsylvanians to his force; but the disproportion between himself and his adversary was still too great to permit him to think of battle.

Lord Cornwallis finding that the Marquis daily increased the distance between them, at length gave up the pursuit, and contrary to the wise policy which had generally dictated his lordship's measures, turned his attention to objects of minor importance, at the moment when it was in his power, by a vigorous pursuit of *la Fayette* with the mounted men of his army, either to have prevented his junction with *Wayne*, or to have brought their united forces to battle under circumstances that must have ensured him victory. Two expeditions were devised by his lordship: the one, for the capture of the American stores which lay at Point Fork, (at the confluence of the *Rivannah* and *Fluvannah*, whose union forms the *James River*) under the protection of the Baron *Steuben* with 4 or 500 new levies: the other for seizing

the members of the legislature then convened at Charlotteville.

The first of these expeditions was entrusted to Lieutenant Colonel Simcoe with the Queen's Rangers and the Yagers; the other to Tarleton, who in addition to his legion, had under him one company of the 23d regiment. Cornwallis with the main body, followed the former. Baron Steuben received timely information of the intentions of the enemy, and having removed all the stores to the southern banks of the Fluvannah, crossed over with his troops, just as Simcoe reached the Point. The Baron who was only apprised of Tarleton's motions, was deceived by the appearance of Simcoe into a belief that the whole British army were near him, and thought it advisable, therefore, to make a rapid retreat during the night, leaving all his stores to fall a sacrifice to the enemy.

Tarleton, in the mean time, pressed forward to Charlotteville, and entered the town with such celerity, that the members of the Assembly had great difficulty in saving themselves from his hands by a hasty adjournment: seven of them, indeed, were taken, and a considerable quantity of military stores and tobacco, which had been deposited here, was destroyed. Mr. Jefferson, the Governour, narrowly escaped being taken. Several of the convention troops of Burgoyne, which were cantoned in the vicinity of the town, deserted to Tarleton, while he remained. Having accomplished his object, the British Colonel rejoined Cornwallis, who had by this time reached the Point of Fork with the main army, and on the 10th of June, was despatched on another expedition to Albemarle old court-house, to which place the stores

which had been removed from Richmond, had been sent. His orders extended also to the destruction of all the stores and tobacco between the James River and the Dan, and even to private granaries of corn, after which he was directed to procure intelligence of the march of the light troops from General Greene's army, and if possible to intercept them, and then join his lordship at Richmond.

The Marquis, who gained early intelligence of the enemy's designs, moved forward towards Albemarle old court-house, with the view of throwing himself between the stores and the enemy; and Cornwallis who seemed to be certain, that la Fayette was running into a snare from which it would be impossible to extricate himself, held Tarleton back and continued with his army at Jefferson's plantation, through which he supposed it necessary for the Marquis to pass. The latter, however, by opening a nearer and unfrequented road, gained his object, before his Lordship conceived it possible for him to have reached the Rivanna, and placed himself directly on the road to the old court-house. Thus frustrated, his Lordship retreated to Richmond. The Marquis, in the mean time, being reinforced by the junction of Colonel Clarke with his riflemen, and the Baron Steuben, who had fortunately brought off his levies in safety, followed Cornwallis at a prudent distance, as if inclined to offer him battle. Whether this manœuvre impressed his lordship with an idea that the Marquis had a much larger army than he really had, or from whatever other motive, Cornwallis was not disposed to use his great superiority in checking the daring pursuit of "the boy" whom he had affected to despise. While his lordship remained in Richmond, Lieuten-

ant Colonel Mercer fell in with one of Tarleton's parties which he pursued and captured.

Cornwallis apparently as much determined now to avoid a contest with la Fayette, as he had in the first instance shown himself eager, for it remained but a few days at Richmond; and retreating still nearer to his shipping, entered Williamsburg on the 25th of June, having destroyed in the course of his march upwards of 2000 hogsheads of tobacco. From Williamsburg his lordship detached Lieutenant Colonel Simcoe to destroy some boats and stores that belonged to the Americans on Chickahominy river. Information of this detachment was received by la Fayette too late to prevent the execution of their object, but learning the route taken by Simcoe on his return, he detached Lieutenant Colonel Butler with the rifle corps under Majors Call and Willis, and a few cavalry to intercept him. Major M·Pherson (of Pennsylvania) who led the van of this detachment, came up with Simcoe about six miles from Williamsburg, and attacked his Yagers with such spirit that they were thrown into confusion. By the time Majors Call and Willis had got up, the Queen's Rangers had drawn up to the support of the Yagers, and a fierce action commenced, which resulted in no decided advantage to either party.

On the 4th of July, Cornwallis being required by Sir Henry Clinton to send a considerable detachment from his army to reinforce the commander in chief at New-York, determined to break up his position at Williamsburg and retire to Portsmouth. With this view, he marched to James City, for the purpose of crossing the river at that point, and embarking his army. On the 5th and 6th of July, the baggage wa-

gons and bat horses of the army were transported across, and on the 7th it was designed to transport the troops. La Fayette followed his Lordship on the 5th and halted his army within eight miles of the point of embarkation, under the impression that the greater part of the British army had crossed, and that he would have an opportunity in the morning of striking at their rear guard. The light troops were therefore put in motion early on the morning of the 6th and Lieutenant Colonel Mercer advanced as far as Greenspring for the purpose of reconnoitering. Here he learned that Tarleton was at that moment quartered in the house, and that Cornwallis was at the church, about a mile in advance; on turning to rejoin his troops, he was nearly intercepted by a party of the enemy's dragoons, but fortunately reached the army in safety. His intelligence seemed to contradict the report of the main body of the British army having crossed the river, and produced a halt; but a second report confirmed the first impression, and the army continued its march to Greenspring, which it entered soon after his Lordship had left it. General Wayne, second in command to La Fayette, always anxious for battle, even with a superiour foe, was easily persuaded to believe what he wished to be true, and the weight of his opinion confirmed La Fayette in the determination to strike the blow.

The house at Greenspring is separated from the road along which the enemy passed, and by which it was necessary that La Fayette should pass to come up with him, by a low marshy piece of ground, a quarter of a mile in width, over which a narrow causeway formed the only practicable route for an army. Our troops moved at three o'clock in the afternoon,

the rifle corps of Majors Call and Willis, with a few dragoons, formed the front; Major M·Pherson followed these with the cavalry of Armand and Mercer, and these were supported by General Wayne with the continental infantry. The Baron Steuben with the militia continued at Greenspring.

Cornwallis saw the mistake under which La Fayette laboured, and endeavoured to keep up the deception, by contracting his force into as narrow a compass as possible, and ordering his pickets to fall back, upon the first attack. After crossing the causeway, the horse were placed in front, and continued to advance along the road, until they were saluted by a fire from the enemy's Yagers, when they fell back. Lieutenant Colonel Mercer and Major M·Pherson were now ordered to take charge of the two rifle corps, and advance. They very soon came up with the enemy's pickets, whom they attacked so warmly, that they were compelled to fall back three hundred yards upon their legion cavalry. Though it was a part of Cornwallis's plan, that his pickets should appear to give way, the number of men killed and wounded in this onset, and the confusion in which they retired, left no room to doubt that this movement was one of necessity, and not in obedience to the order.

The cavalry now joined the two rifle corps, which continued boldly to advance, until they came in sight of the enemy's infantry drawn up on the flanks of their cavalry. Here they took post under cover of a rail fence, and were soon joined by two battalions of Wayne's infantry under Majors Galvan and Willis, and two pieces of artillery, commanded by Captain Savage. The firing was recommenced and kept up for some time with considerable spirit, when the ad-

vance of the enemy in a body under Lieutenant Colonel Yorke, with three pieces of artillery, convinced Generals Wayne and La Fayette, that they had something more to contend with than the enemy's rear guard. Wayne, however, was not disposed to give way until he had tried the mettle of the British troops with the bayonet. He continued the contest until La Fayette, who saw the inevitable destruction that awaited his army, if he persevered in the unequal dispute, ordered him to draw off, which was executed in the most handsome style. The Marquis having recrossed the causeway, retired to a distance of six miles and encamped for the night.

Whether Cornwallis suspected, from the daring presumption of Wayne, that his object was to lead him into an ambuscade, or whether he was deterred by the approaching darkness from pursuing, the Marquis was suffered to make his retreat without interruption, and his Lordship returned to his camp. The passage of the river was completed on the 8th July, and on the 9th his lordship continued his march to Portsmouth, having previously detached Tarleton with his cavalry and mounted infantry to a distance of 200 miles into the country, for the purpose of destroying some stores that were supposed to be deposited at Bedford, for the use of Greene's army. Upon an examination of the town and vicinity of Portsmouth, Cornwallis was convinced that it was not a proper place at which to spend the summer in a state of inactivity, which he would be compelled to do if obliged to send the reinforcements to New-York, which were asked for by the commander in chief: he therefore asked permission of Sir Henry Clinton either to return to South Carolina, or to retain his whole force and

fix upon some more eligible spot for the execution of their intended operations on the Chesapeake. Sir Henry at length yielded to the latter suggestion, and Cornwallis by the advice of his engineers, made choice of Yorktown and Gloucester Point, to which positions after destroying the works at Portsmouth, the whole British army moved by the 23d of August, and his lordship applied himself with unremitted assiduity to fortify these posts both by land and water.

While these things were going on in Virginia, matters of high moment seemed to be in agitation between the two commanders in chief, in the north, which the arrival of the Count de Barras from France, soon fully developed on the part of the allied army. The Count de Barras succeeded the Chevalier de Ternay as Admiral of the fleet, and the despatches which he brought for the Count Rochambeau being of a nature to require an immediate consultation with the American commander, a meeting took place at Weathersfield, in Connecticut, on the 21st of May. The situation of the British army at New-York, weakened as it was by the heavy detachments which had been sent off to the south, excited the immediate attention of the two commanders at this interview, and various considerations urged the adoption of a plan for a combined attack upon Sir Henry, without delay. A double object would be accomplished by this attack—either Sir Henry would be compelled to draw a part of his forces from Cornwallis, and thus relieve Virginia, or to withdraw from New-York and leave that desirable position at the mercy of the American commander.

Washington, had in the mean time, used every exertion to impress upon the several states the necessity of speedily sending in their quotas of militia, and urg-

ed with every argument in his power the magnitude of the meditated blow. The whole army appeared to look forward to the attack with anxious expectation; Washington's letters were filled with minute and explicit details of his intended operations, and, these letters being *intercepted*, Sir Henry Clinton did not suffer himself for a moment to doubt that any thing else was intended. The allied armies moved from their respective positions, and formed a junction at the White Plains, on the 6th of July, and every movement which could indicate an attack on New-York, and divert Sir Henry from the ultimate destination of the army, was successfully practised.

In this situation, the intelligence for which Washington had been waiting at length arrived. Letters from the Count de Grasse stated that he would shortly arrive in the Chesapeake with a powerful armament; and on the 19th of August, the combined armies moved to the south. They halted a few days at Philadelphia, and then continuing their march, embarked in transports at the head of Elk, and arrived at Williamsburg, then the head quarters of the Marquis de la Fayette, on the 25th of September. The two Generals preceded the troops about ten days, and found to their great joy that the Count de Grasse had entered the capes with twenty-eight sail, on the 30th of the preceding month.

The Count de Grasse had brought out with him upwards of 3000 troops, under the command of the Marquis de St. Cimon, who were immediately disembarked, and were now with the troops of la Fayette, at Williamsburg. The Count had blockaded York river with a part of his fleet, and moored the remainder in Lynnhaven bay. In addition to which, the

Count de Barras, who had left Rhode Island with eight ships of the line, when the combined armies began to move, had safely entered the Chesapeake, and now formed a part of the fleet. On the 5th of September, Admiral Greaves appeared off the capes with 20 sail of the line, intended for the relief of Cornwallis; and the Count de Grasse then lying at anchor hastened to meet and offer him battle. About 4 o'clock, an action commenced which was kept up with some warmth until night made it necessary for the British ships to draw off, with the intention of renewing the action in the morning; but Admiral Greaves finding his line of battle broken, and several of his ships considerably injured, declined a second attempt, while his adversary having gained the sole object of his quitting his anchorage, namely the protection of the Count de Barras, returned to the bay, satisfied now that no future interruption could be given to the important designs against Cornwallis.

When Washington and the Count de Rochambeau arrived at Williamsburg, they found a vessel ready to convey them on board the *Ville de Paris*, the Count de Grasse's flag ship, where it was necessary a council should be held to determine upon their future operations. This being settled, the combined armies moved upon York and Gloucester, on the last of September, and the Count at the same time moved up with his fleet to the mouth of York river.

When we consider the extraordinary combination of circumstances, which led to the complete success of every part of the complicated plan by which Lord Cornwallis was now surrounded and brought into inextricable toils, a combination which bids defiance to all military calculations, and which it seems almost

impossible for human foresight to have embraced ; we are irresistibly impelled, in spite of the suggestions of reason and philosophy, to refer it to the invisible and inscrutable operations of divine agency. We are not among those who believe, that religion teaches us to regard *ourselves* as the peculiar favourites of heaven, because we so often escaped the toils of our enemies, and triumphed most where we had least cause of hope. We have no right to arrogate to ourselves a stronger claim to omnipotent aid, than our enemies ; and we regard it as little less than a blasphemous irreverence of the deity, to admit the idea for a moment, that his protecting providence does not extend alike over all. But, that two commanders, at the distance of more than a thousand miles from each other, should be able to move in such complete concert ; that the Count de Barras should leave Newport, and by a circuitous voyage arrive at the only moment when he could have escaped the British fleet ; that Sir Henry Clinton should be so long and so thoroughly deceived as to the ultimate objects of the American commander ; that Lord Cornwallis, contrary to his character, to the spirit of decision, of eagerness for battle, which seemed heretofore to influence all his actions, should forbear, when it was so easily in his power, to annihilate the force of the Marquis de la Fayette ; all these are considerations which involve a mystery not to be explained upon the common principles of human ratiocination. If Washington never had the serious intention of attacking New-York ; if all these apparently fortuitous occurrences were the result of previous arrangement and premeditations ; they display a generalship to which military annals have furnished no parallel. Before we proceed to relate the ope-

rations of this siege, which has been regarded as the closing scene of the war in the United States, it will be proper to carry the reader once more to the army of General Greene.

The high hills of Santee, which had been chosen by General Greene for the encampment of his troops, during the hot and sickly season of the south, were well calculated to afford that tranquillity and repose to his harassed army, without which they would have derived but little benefit from the pure and salubrious mountain air. With the quiet which they here enjoyed, the sick and the wounded were soon restored to health; and General Greene once more finding himself enabled to face the foe, determined to repossess himself of the country still held by the enemy, and then again to seek Cornwallis in Virginia. Wilmington was his first object, and with the view of carrying the garrison of that place, Lieutenant Colonel Lee was ordered to hold himself in readiness with his legion, and two companies of the Delaware and Maryland regulars; but the intelligence communicated by General Washington at this time, made it necessary to change his plan of operations, and it was determined to turn his whole force upon the British possessions in South Carolina and Georgia.

Lord Rawdon had retired to Charleston after the evacuation of Ninety-Six, leaving Lieutenant Colonel Stuart in command of the army, which were encamped between Motte's and the Santee, near its confluence with the Congaree. At Charleston, his lordship, in conjunction with General Patterson, who commanded at that post, stained his own honour and the British name, by the execution of an American officer, under circumstances that offered no justifica-

tion even for harshness of treatment. Colonel Isaac Hayne was among the number of militia officers, whose families were placed at the mercy of the enemy, at the surrender of Charleston to the British arms, by capitulation. Like many others who preferred to surrender themselves voluntary prisoners, rather than abandon their families and property, Colonel Hayne soon after repaired to Charleston, and made the voluntary offer of his parole to the British commander. Contrary to the custom which had been daily practised towards others, the British officer refused to accept the parole of Colonel Hayne, and presented to him the alternative of becoming a *British subject*, or submitting to close confinement. His family were in a situation to demand all his attention, his wife and several children being ill with the small pox, and though the idea of becoming a British subject was revolting to his gallant and patriotick spirit, he preferred this sacrifice of feeling to the distressing alternative of being immured in a dungeon, where he could render no assistance to his afflicted family. He made the requisite acknowledgment of allegiance, with the express exception that he should not be required to bear arms in support of the government. His mind was relieved on this head by an assurance from Brigadier General Patterson, that military service would never be required from him; and for some time Colonel Hayne had the melancholy consolation of attending to his family in their dreadful malady, and of witnessing the death of his wife, and one child. During this season of grief, he was several times called upon to bear arms in the service of the king, in violation of the exception to which the General had so readily acceded, but constantly refus-

ed, and was asconstantly threatened with close imprisonment.

Colonel Hayne continued firm to his plighted faith, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of his countrymen to resume his command among them, until the British were driven from the whole country between the Edisto and Stono inlet. This circumstance, he believed, inasmuch as it deprived them of the power of protecting him, released him from his allegiance, for allegiance and protection must be reciprocal to be binding. He repaired, therefore, to the American camp, and was immediately elected by his countrymen to the command of a regiment. After a few excursions at the head of this regiment, in one of which he captured General Williamson, (who like himself had sworn allegiance to the British after the surrender of Charleston, but unlike him, had seemed to change his nature with the circumstance, and was now as zealous in loyalty, as he had been before active in patriotism,) he was surprised and taken prisoner. He was immediately conveyed to Charleston, and confined in the Provost prison. A court of *inquiry* was ordered to be held on him; and on the 31st of July, he was abruptly informed, that Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour, who had succeeded Patterson in command, had resolved on his execution, "for having been found under arms, and employed in raising a regiment to oppose the British government, after he had become a subject, and accepted *the protection of government*, at the reduction of Charleston."

Astonished at information which he had so little reason to expect, Colonel Hayne addressed a letter to the two commanders, in which he protested against the

decision of a court of *inquiry*, the members of which were not sworn, nor the witnesses examined on oath. He appealed to their justice and humanity, alleging that if considered as a British subject, he was entitled to a legal and impartial trial; and as an American, to be set at liberty on his parole. That having not the most remote idea that he was to be tried and condemned before a court of inquiry, on an affair in which his life was concerned, he had called for no witnesses, and had asked for no counsel, to both of which he was entitled. He concluded thus: "I can assure you with the utmost truth, that I had, and have many reasons to urge in my defence, if you will grant me the favour of a regular trial; if not, which I cannot however suppose from your justice and humanity, I earnestly entreat that my execution may be deferred, that I may at least take a last farewell of my children, and prepare for the dreadful change"

To this honourable, just and well grounded appeal, Colonel Hayne received the following reply from the town Major. "I have to inform you, that your execution is not ordered in consequence of any sentence from the court of inquiry; but by virtue of the authority with which the commander in chief in South Carolina, and the commanding officer in Charleston, are invested: and their resolves on the subject are fixed and unchangeable." Believing that all further remonstrance against the illegality and injustice of their mode of proceeding would be vain, Colonel Hayne contented himself with soliciting a short respite, that he might give a last embrace to his children. This was granted to him in the following ungracious note from the town Major. "I am to inform you, that in consequence

of a petition signed by Governour Bull and many others, as also of your prayer of yesterday, and the humane treatment shown by you to the British prisoners who fell into your hands, you are respited for *forty-eight hours* ; but should General Greene *offer to expostulate* in your favour with the commanding officer, from that moment this respite will cease, and you will be ordered to immediate execution."

The short respite was employed by Colonel Hayne in embracing his family and friends; and at the appointed time he was ready to yield to his relentless tyrants, simply soliciting that he might be permitted to die as became an officer. But this request was denied to him, and on the 4th of August, he was led to the cart amidst a crowd of anxious spectators, all of whom had supplicated Lord Rawdon to spare his life. He promised his friends to show them an example how an American could die, and heroically was that promise fulfilled. He ascended the cart unsupported, commended his infant family to the protection of his friends, took an affectionate leave of all, and with his own hands drew the cap over his eyes.

The feelings of General Greene and his army, when intelligence of this unauthorised and lawless execution was received, may be readily conceived. They determined with one accord to take the most ample vengeance, and a proclamation was issued by General Greene, in which he declared his intention to retaliate the murder of Hayne, and all such inhuman enormities, upon the British officers that should fall into his hands. In the glow of this universal indignation at the outrage, the American army moved from the high hills of Santee. The enemy were distant from them no more than fifteen miles, but the Wateree

and the Congaree were both between them, and as there were no means of transportation across these rivers, except at the hazard of great annoyance, General Greene was compelled to take a circuitous route of seventy miles. After crossing the Wateree near Camden, General Greene continued his march to Friday's ferry, when the army crossed the Congaree, and thus found themselves on the same side with the enemy. At this place General Greene was joined by General Pickens, and Lieutenant Colonel Henderson with their militia, and soon afterwards by Marion, which increased his force to about 2000 men, equal to the enemy in number, but greatly inferior in discipline and experience, more than one third of them being raw militia.

The enemy, in the mean time, as soon as they had heard of the movement of General Greene's army, broke up from their position on the Congaree, and retired forty miles down the Santee to the Eutaw Springs, sixty miles north of Charleston. Greene determined to pursue, and on the evening of the 7th of September, his advance under Lieutenant Colonel Lee, encamped at Laurens's farm, within eight miles of the enemy's position. The main army on the same evening reached Bendell's, nine miles in the rear. On the morning of the 8th, Greene advanced in order of battle; the North and South Carolina militia under Generals Marion and Pickens, and Colonel Malmedy, in the front line, and the North Carolina, Virginia and Maryland regulars, under General Sumner, and Colonel Williams and Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, in the second. The right flank was supported by Lee and his legion, and the left, by Henderson with his state troops. Washington's cav-

alry, and Kirkwood's Delaware troops formed a corps de reserve.

About four miles from the British camp, Lee's legion encountered a party of the enemy, and drove them back with considerable loss, taking prisoner an infantry captain, and 40 of his men. The British commander, Lieutenant Colonel Stuart, who appeared to be ignorant until now of the proximity of Greene, now drew up his army in order of battle, a little distance in front of his camp. The 3d (Irish) regiment on the right, Lieutenant Colonel Cruger with the remains of several regiments, in the centre; and two regiments, (63d and 64th) on the left. A battalion of light infantry under Major Majoribanks was posted to protect the right flank of the 3d, and the artillery was distributed along the line.

The action commenced about ten o'clock with the militia, who advanced upon the van of the enemy with considerable spirit, supported by Captain Gains with two pieces of artillery, and in a few minutes the whole line was engaged. The militia under Colonel Malmedy, being pressed by the 64th, soon gave way, leaving the legion infantry, and Henderson's corps on the two flanks, to support the whole shock of the enemy's line. General Sumner, however, with the continentals of our second line, promptly moved up to their support, and the enemy were soon compelled to give up the advantage they had gained. At this moment, the British commander brought into line the corps of infantry posted in the rear of his left wing, and ordered the cavalry to his left. Lieutenant Colonel Henderson, having received a wound, his corps was gallantly led on by Lieutenant Colonel Wade Hampton, and notwithstanding the addition to the

enemy's front, our whole line continued to gain ground.

The battalion of infantry on the right flank of the enemy was now for the first time brought into action. These were met by the reserve under Washington and Kirkwood, and General Greene at the same moment, ordered the Maryland and Virginia regulars under Colonel Williams and Lieutenant Colonel Campbell to hold their fire and charge with the bayonet. They advanced to the charge with a shout, and Lee at the same instant, ordered Rudolph with his company which stretched beyond the enemy's line, to fall back and give a raking fire to his flank. This seemed to decide the fate of the day; for the enemy now closely assailed in front and flank, began to give way along their whole line, with the exception of the Irish regiment on their right. This, though it had never before been in action, still continued bravely to meet the bayonets of the Marylanders, and many individuals of these two opposing corps were found locked to each other by their respective bayonets. Seeing the whole of their line give way, they were unable singly to breast the storm much longer; the Americans pressed eagerly on, and gained possession of the enemy's camp, while they continued to fly until they gained a brick house, situated between the Charleston road, and a deep ravine on the right of their camp.

While the victorious Americans were thus pursuing the British centre and left, a far different scene was going on between the gallant Washington and the enemy's light infantry under Major Majoribanks. The latter perceiving Washington's rapid advance, and endeavour to gain his rear, posted himself be-

hind a thick wood, through which it was almost impossible for the cavalry to pass. Washington however was to be deterred by no obstacle from making the attempt. He advanced under a terrible fire from his covered enemy, until his career was arrested by a shot which killed his horse; and while endeavouring to disentangle himself he was himself bayoneted and taken prisoner. His second in command, Captain Watts, received two balls and fell; three Lieutenants experienced a similar fate; Lieutenant Philip Stuart, one of the bravest of Washington's gallant corps, was dismounted close to the enemy's ranks, covered with wounds, and every man of his section was either killed or wounded. This heroick corps, thus half destroyed, their commander a prisoner, was compelled to abandon the enterprise and draw off, leaving the victorious Majoribanks at liberty to protect his flying commander.

In the mean time the legion infantry pressed close upon the enemy as they gained the house, and made a desperate effort to enter it before the doors could be barred, but they were unsuccessful. The British commander now endeavoured to form his army for battle. His cavalry under Major Coffin were posted in a field to his left, and the infantry under Majoribanks still held the right; while his wagons, with a part of his wounded, baggage, and some necessary stores were continuing their way to Charleston.

The action recommenced between Oldham's company of Marylanders, led on by Lieutenant Colonel Howard, and a part of the enemy's right, while Lee endeavoured to support him against Coffin's cavalry; but from some unfortunate misapprehension of orders only one troop of the cavalry came up, who being un-

able to stand against Coffin, were obliged to give way, and Howard being at the same time wounded, the Marylanders also retired. The whole of the artillery had in the mean time been brought up against the house, but being unable to effect any thing, General Greene ordered the troops to be drawn off, and the enemy regained possession of their camp. Two pieces of artillery which had been taken from them in the pursuit were thus recovered, and a third gained which our troops were unable to bring off. The enemy advanced no further than their camp, and Greene after adopting proper measures to bury his dead and take care of the wounded, retired to the ground from which he had marched in the morning, there being no water nearer, for the supply of his troops, who were ready to faint with heat and thirst after an action of near four hours.

The enemy, according to their custom in all similar cases, claimed the credit of a signal victory ; but this will appear somewhat inconsistent with the facts, that General Greene left a strong picket on the field of battle, which remained untouched, and that the enemy retired the next day to the neighbourhood of Charleston, leaving a great number of their wounded to fall into our hands. It is certain that victory could not truly be claimed by either party, but all the advantages which could have flowed from the most complete success, were derived to the Americans from this action. The contest was sustained with equal bravery by both armies. The enemy lost, according to their own account 693 killed, wounded and missing, together with 1000 stand of arms, and a great quantity of stores which they destroyed to prevent their falling into our hands. General Greene estimated

their loss at a much higher rate. The Americans lost 514 killed, wounded and missing, among whom were 61 officers. Out of six commandants of regiments, Williams and Lee were the only ones who escaped unhurt. Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, an officer highly esteemed and respected, received a ball in his breast, as he was leading his troops to the charge and expired a few moments afterwards. Lieutenant Duvall of Maryland, by whom one of the enemy's pieces of artillery was taken in the pursuit, was also among the killed: his bravery and good conduct had given hopes of future distinction. For the number engaged on each side, there has seldom been a more deadly conflict.

The enemy were pursued for some distance on their retreat the following day to Monk's corner, but being joined by Major M^cArthur with a strong detachment, General Greene deemed it advisable to cease the pursuit, and retire to his former healthy position on the High Hills of Santee, which he reached on the 18th September.

The battle of the Eutaw Springs was the last general action which took place in South Carolina, the enemy having retired to Charleston, afraid to venture upon any thing more than trifling excursions. General Greene, after remaining on the Santee Hills, until the wounded and sick of his army were restored to health, moved again into the low country; and that enemy to whom so lately the whole state yielded a forced obedience, now found themselves obliged to limit all their operations to the defence of their streightened quarters on Charleston Neck. Thus did General Greene close the campaign of 1781. Few commanders have ever had greater difficulties to en-

counter, and few have ever with the same means accomplished so much. Never decisively victorious, the battles which he fought either from necessity or choice, were always so well managed as to result to his advantage. Congress were not unmindful of his eminent services, nor of the many brave officers who fought under his auspices : their thanks were liberally bestowed upon all, and to the General himself they paid the high compliment of presenting him with a British standard, and a gold medal emblematick of the action at Eutaw Springs, which restored a lost sister to the American Union.

Before we return to the operations of the commander in chief at York, it will be proper to take notice of an expedition fitted out by Sir Henry Clinton against Connecticut. It was no sooner known at New-York that Washington had left the confines of that state, than Sir Henry Clinton, instead of taking measures to reinforce Cornwallis, against whom he must have been now certain that Washington's force was destined, determined upon striking a blow at New-London, a considerable trading town on the Thames river in Connecticut. A sufficient armament of land and naval force was immediately put in readiness, and the command of it given to General Arnold, who finding his situation in the army of the South becoming daily more unpleasant from the disrespect of his brother officers, as well as from the increasing prospect of his falling into the hands of his outraged countrymen, had solicited and obtained permission to return to New-York, as soon as Cornwallis arrived from North Carolina, to take command of the army in Virginia. There wanted only this last stroke to complete the infamy of Arnold's conduct : Connecticut was his *native state* ;

and he was now to carry desolation to the doors of his family and connexions. His army landed in two divisions, on each side of the harbour of New London, on the morning of the 6th of September; that on the right, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Eyre, and that on the left, under Arnold himself. Groten side, or that upon which Eyre landed, was defended by Fort Griswold, with a garrison of 160 men under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Ledyard. Eyre at the head of three regiments summoned it to surrender, but the summons being refused, he advanced for the purpose of carrying the fort by a *coup de main*. His advances were met by Lieutenant Colonel Ledyard, with the most determined gallantry, and a contest ensued at the points of the bayonet and spear, which displayed the desperate resolution of both parties, to die or conquer. The British at length succeeded in making a lodgment. Colonel Eyre, and his second, Major, Montgomery, were both killed, as they were forcing their way through the embrasures, and the command of the army devolved on Major Bromfield. Ledyard bravely contended, until nearly the whole of his garrison were killed or wounded, when finding longer resistance unavailing, he delivered his sword to the British commander, and in return, received the sword of this savage through his heart. The bloody example of Bromfield was followed by his men, and scarcely a man of the garrison was left unhurt. The enemy lost in this deadly conflict, 54 killed, and 143 wounded, several of whom afterwards died of their wounds.

Arnold on the other side met with no resistance, and having gained possession of the town, he industriously set to work to destroy it and every thing of

value it contained. Sixteen ships, however, escaped the general conflagration by moving up the river; and what is somewhat remarkable, neither the barracks nor the magazine of gunpowder at Fort Griswold were touched. Having completed his object, and fully satiated his unnatural thirst of vengeance, Arnold, in a few days returned to New-York, bearing with him the curses of every individual, upon himself, and the cause which he had now embraced.

CHAPTER XIX.

Events of 1781 continued.—Siege of York, and surrender of Lord Cornwallis.—Universal joy which that event occasioned.—Sir Henry Clinton appears off the Capes of Virginia with the British fleet, and an army of 7000 men.—Hears of the fall of Cornwallis, and returns to New-York.—Inexplicable conduct of that commander.—The Marquis de St. Cimon reembarks, and the Count de Grasse returns to the West Indies.—The Count Rochambeau cantons his army in Virginia.—Major General St. Clair sent to the assistance of Greene.—Washington retires to Philadelphia.—The Marquis de la Fayette obtains permission to return to France. Robert Morris is appointed Minister of finance.—General Lincoln is made Secretary of War.—Mr. Laurens is released from the tower.—Prospect of the country at the close of the year.

WE have seen that Washington permitted the army to repose but a few days, after they reached Williamsburg, before he again put them in motion, and that he sat down in front of his enemy, in the last days of September. The Count de Grasse, having with some difficulty suffered himself to be prevailed upon to give up the idea of seeking the British fleet at sea, or of attempting to block them up in the harbour of New-York, now gave his undivided attention to the wishes of the American commander, and moved up to the mouth of York River for the purpose of cooperating in the siege. The orders which Washington issued to his troops on the march from Williamsburg, sufficiently show his anxiety to infuse into his soldiers that sort of spirit which should prepare them for the important blow he was about to strike. "If the enemy should be tempted to meet the army

on its march, the General particularly enjoins the troops to place their principal reliance on the bayonet, that they may prove the vanity of the boast which the British make, of their peculiar prowess in deciding battles with that weapon."

The works which Lord Cornwallis had been enabled to erect, for the defence of York, and the opposite point of Gloucester, in the short space of time which he had occupied them, did great credit to his military genius, but they were by no means adequate to protect him against the force of his present assailants; and he would unhesitatingly have abandoned them, and attempted to effect his retreat to Charleston, but for the solemn assurances of support from Sir Henry Clinton. But the great error of Cornwallis was, not that he attempted to maintain his posts after the arrival of Washington, but that he did not give battle to the Marquis de la Fayette, before or even after the junction of the Marquis de St. Cimon. His army was fully equal to both these united, and various opportunities offered of separately falling upon both. It would have been too late perhaps after Washington had reached Virginia, for him to have effected a retreat, more particularly, as the water communication with Portsmouth was entirely cut off. He was perfectly aware of the incompetence of his means of defence, but resting on the assurance of his commander in chief, he felt himself bound to maintain his position and wait the issue.

The works erected for the protection of York, were redoubts and batteries stretched along a line of circumvallation, which extended from a small inlet, on the upper side of the town, to a deep ravine on the lower. These redoubts and batteries were connect-

red hot balls reached the enemy's ships in the harbour, and one of their best frigates was destroyed.

On the night of the 11th, Washington commenced his second parallel within three hundred yards of the enemy's lines, and so expeditiously and secretly was the work carried on, that the trench was nearly completed before the dawn of day. Upon perceiving this extraordinary despatch of his besiegers, Cornwallis redoubled his exertions to strengthen his defence, still trusting to the promised aid of the British commander in chief. All his batteries were opened to stop the progress of this second parallel; but though his fire was considerably destructive, particularly from two redoubts on his left, our work was continued without intermission. At this moment Washington determined to carry these two redoubts by a coup de main. The detachment ordered against that on our right was entrusted to the Marquis de la Fayette, who conducted it in person, the other to the French under the Baron de Viomenil. Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, assisted by Lieutenant Colonel Laurens, led the van of la Fayette, and so vigorously was the assault conducted, that they soon forced their way into the redoubt, and made the whole party consisting of 60 men, under Major Campbell, prisoners, only five of their number being killed. The detachment had been ordered in the assault to remember the recent massacre at New-London after fort Griswold had surrendered; but Hamilton upon being questioned why he had spared the lives of his prisoners, answered, that his detachment could not imitate deeds of barbarity upon men who begged for quarters.

The enterprise against the other redoubt, conducted by the Baron Viomenil, was equally successful,

though more difficult, the number of the enemy here being double that of the other, and the resistance proportionately formidable. The commandant of the redoubt with half his force, escaped, leaving the other half, of whom 18 were killed, to fall into the hands of the Baron. The loss of the latter was very severe, having 100 men killed and wounded. Our loss in the other affair was 9 killed and 32 wounded. These two redoubts were soon added to our second parallel, and the equal honours acquired by the French and Americans in the enterprise, infused a mutual confidence in the allies, and added more vigour to the further prosecution of the siege.

Lord Cornwallis in the mean time more and more straightened in his position, and still without the expected reinforcements, though ten days had elapsed since it was said they were to sail from New-York, projected a sally against two of our redoubts, which were not yet completed. Lieutenant Colonel Abercrombie conducted the enterprise with 400 men, of the guards and light infantry; and before day light on the morning of the 16th he advanced upon our lines. His party were divided into two detachments, the first of the guards under Lieutenant Colonel Luke, the second of the light infantry under Major Armstrong.—Both officers succeeded in driving out the French who occupied these redoubts, and in spiking eleven pieces of cannon, besides killing a number of men; but this success was of little benefit to the besieged, for being unable to hold possession of the redoubts, the party was compelled to retire on the approach of the assailants; and the redoubts were soon made ready and the cannon unspiked.

This completed the second parallel of the besiegers, who now displayed a front of nearly one hundred

pieces of heavy ordnance, while the defences of the town were so much demolished that scarcely a gun could be shown. In this situation Cornwallis was reduced to the alternative of attempting his escape, or of offering terms of capitulation; the latter was too humiliating to his proud military spirit, and a plan was instantly conceived for carrying the former into effect. He determined to pass his whole army over in the night to Gloucester Point, and by falling upon General Choise to possess himself of all his horses, by which the greater part of his army would be mounted, and his further movements were to depend on contingent occurrences. The attempt was equally bold and desperate; but whatever might have been its ultimate issue, fortune had prepared another fate for Cornwallis. After the first division of his army had actually crossed, and while he was waiting for the return of the boats to embark the remainder, a violent storm arose, which dispersed the boats and drove them down the river considerably below the town; so that day light approached before they could be brought up to the place of embarkation. It was now too late; and his lordship was compelled to employ the forenoon in reuniting his divided force, by recalling the division which had crossed the river.

The last hope of his lordship being thus disconcerted by a destiny beyond his control, he considered any further resistance as an useless expenditure of the lives of his men, and having beat a parley, sent a messenger to Washington, with a proposition for a cessation of hostilities for the space of twenty four hours, with a view of settling by commissioners, terms for the surrender of his two posts. After requiring from his lordship a previous avowal of the basis upon which

he meant to propose the surrender, the request for a cessation of hostilities was granted, and commissioners were mutually appointed. On the part of the allied armies, the viscount de Noailles, and Lieutenant Colonel Laurens, aid de camp to Washington ; and on the part of the British, Lieutenant Colonel Dundas, and Major Ross, aid de camp to his lordship, met on the 18th, but not being able to agree upon definitive terms, rough drafts of their proceedings were submitted to the respective commanders. Washington, perceiving that Cornwallis insisted upon terms unwarranted by the situation of the two armies, and unwilling to lose a moments time in fruitless negociation, transmitted to his lordship on the morning of the 19th, his *ultimatum*, declaring that hostilities should recommence at 11 o'clock, unless the terms were previously ratified. Cornwallis strenuous as had been his efforts to procure certain advantageous conditions for his army and the citizens in York and Gloucester, who had joined the British standard, now perceived that further delay would be hazardous, and the surrender was made on the following terms. 1st. That the British land and naval forces at York and Gloucester, surrender themselves respectively to the combined forces of America and France. 2d. That the artillery, arms and stores of every description, be delivered unimpaired to officers appointed to receive them. 3d. That the two redoubts on the left flank of York, be delivered up at 12 o'clock, the one to a detachment of the American army, the other to a detachment of the French grenadiers. The garrison of York to march out at 2 o'clock, to a place appointed in front of the posts, with shouldered arms, colours cased, and drums beating a British or German march, there to ground

their arms, and return to their encampment, until despatched to the places of their destination. The same to be done at 3 o'clock, with the garrison of Gloucester. 4th. Officers to retain their side arms and private property of every kind, with the exception of such as obviously belongs to the inhabitants of the United States. 5th. The soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland or Pennsylvania, and supplied with the same rations as are allowed to the soldiers of the United States. To be kept as much as possible in regiments, and a suitable number of field officers to reside near them on parole, with permission to visit them frequently, and examine into their treatment. 6th. The British General and his staff, and other officers, civil and military, who desire it, to be permitted to go on parole to Europe, New-York, or any other place in possession of the British at their option; proper vessels to be furnished by the Count de Grasse for this purpose, and passports to go by land to be given to those for whom vessels cannot be furnished. 7th. The officers to be allowed to keep soldiers as servants, and the servants not soldiers not to be considered as prisoners. 8th. The Bonetta sloop of war, with her present equipment and crew, to be left at the disposal of the British General, to carry such soldiers as he may think proper to send, and despatches to Sir Henry Clinton; to be permitted to sail without examination, and to be afterwards delivered to the order of the Count de Grasse; the soldiers and crew to be accounted for. 9th. Traders to be considered as prisoners of war on parole, and allowed to dispose of their property, giving to the allied armies the right of preemption. 10th. In this article Cornwallis required that the inhabitants of different parts of the country

then in York and Gloucester, should not be punished for having joined the British army; but it was objected to by Washington, as belonging altogether to the civil department, for whom he would make no stipulation. The 11th and 12th articles related to the sick, who were to be supplied with hospital stores at the expense of the British, and attended by their own surgeons. 13th. The shipping and boats in the two harbours, with all their stores, guns, tackling, and apparel, to be delivered up to an officer of the navy appointed to take possession of them. And lastly, no article of the capitulation to be infringed on pretence of reprisals.

These articles being mutually signed and ratified, General Lincoln was appointed by the commander in chief to receive the submission of the royal army. Cornwallis unable to bear up against the humiliation of marching at the head of his garrison, constituted General O'Hara his representative, and the conquered army moved in silence through the columns of French and American soldiers, drawn up on each side of the road. On the other side of the river, Lieutenant Colonel Dundas had been transferred to York during the last movements of the troops, and the command had devolved on Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton. This officer, conscious of the many causes he had given to the inhabitants of the United States to detest his character, and to inspire correspondent feelings of revenge, waited upon the French General de Choise, previous to his surrender, and expressing apprehensions for his personal safety, requested that he might not be placed at the disposal of the American militia. The request, though founded upon idle fears, or what is worse, a desire to throw a stigma

upon the American character, was readily granted; and the Duke de Lauzun and Lieutenant Colonel Mercer were selected, with their respective corps, to receive the submission of Tarleton's garrison.

Thus was this siege happily brought to a conclusion, and a second British army, whose march through a wide extent of country, had been every where traced by ruin and devastation, brought to submit to American prowess. The number of men which surrendered to Washington, amounted in the whole to 7107, but more than 3000 of these are said to have been unfit for duty; the combined army appears to have been 16000 strong, 7000 of whom were French. Thus Cornwallis was far from losing any part of the great reputation which his repeated successes had gained him, by surrendering to a force so greatly superiour; he had done all that could be done under circumstances of so much embarrassment, and it is not hazarding too much to say, that if he had been left to his own discretion, his army would have been saved, or his own life offered a sacrifice to the enterprise of his genius. A second elegant park of field artillery, entirely of brass, came into our possession at this surrender. This, together with every thing appertaining to the army, fell to the Americans in the distribution, while the shipping and its concerns, became the property of our brave allies. During the siege about 300 of the combined army were killed and wounded, and on the part of the British upwards of 500.

The officers particularly distinguished by the commander in chief, for their zeal, activity and valour, on this occasion, were the Count de Rochambeau, Generals Chatelleux and Viomenil, of the French, and Generals Lincoln, la Fayette and Steuben of the

American army. General Knox, who commanded the artillery, and General du Portail, chief engineer, were also mentioned in terms of signal respect. Lieutenants Colonel Hamilton and Laurens, gained imperishable honours for the intrepidity displayed in storming the redoubt on the 14th.

Nothing could exceed the universal joy at this great and important event; and that there might not be a man in the army deprived of the opportunity or inclination to join in the rejoicings, the commander in chief ordered that all who were in arrest or confinement, should be pardoned and set at liberty. He directed also that divine service should be performed in all the brigades and divisions, and thus concludes his order. "The commander in chief recommends that all the troops that are not upon duty, do assist at it, with a serious deportment, and that sensibility of heart, which the recollection of the surprising and particular interposition of Providence in our favour, claims." Congress also, after testifying their sense of this important achievement, by an unanimous vote of thanks to Washington, the Counts Rochambeau and de Grasse, and their respective officers and soldiers, ordered the 13th of December, to be observed throughout the United States as a day of thanksgiving and prayer.

Five days after the surrender of Cornwallis, Sir Henry Clinton made his appearance off the Capes of Virginia, with his long promised reinforcement of 7000 men; but receiving intelligence of his lordship's fate, he returned to New-York. Cornwallis in his despatches to Sir Henry, more than hinted that his fall had been produced by too firm a reliance on promises, that no pains were taken to fulfil. Indeed the

conduct of the commander in chief of the British armies in America, from the moment it was known that Washington had turned his steps to Virginia, is wholly inexplicable. He seems never to have dreamed of the possibility, that the French could acquire such an ascendancy as to impede the operations of the British fleet, and still less to have entertained an idea, that while he was idly debating upon the safest means of transporting aid to Cornwallis, Washington would press forward to his object with unremitting vigour. He promised Cornwallis that the auxiliary force should leave New-York on the 5th of October, but for reasons which have never been explained, and which indeed it would be impossible for him satisfactorily to explain, the convoy did not sail until the 19th, the very day which decided the fate of his army. He had previously taken from Cornwallis all discretionary power, by assurances that all possible means would be exerted to relieve him, thus making it his duty to remain, until nothing but an act of desperation could have given him a chance of escape.

The army under the Marquis de St. Cimon, reembarked soon after the surrender, and the Count de Grasse, though strongly urged by Washington to extend his cooperation to the army of Greene in the South, was compelled by circumstances uncontrollable, to return to his station in the West Indies. The Count Rochambeau cantoned his army for the winter in Virginia; the Pennsylvania and Maryland brigades were detached to the South, under Major General St. Clair; and the remainder of the American army under Major General Lincoln, returned by way of the Chesapeake to their former position on the Hudson.

The year 1781 which, at its commencement, presented the most gloomy prospects to the United States, closed with bright and glorious hopes. In Georgia and South Carolina, the American government was completely reestablished; and Cornwallis, who had extended the dominion of his master, with waste and havoc, over the whole southern continent, was at length arrested in his career, and now a prisoner in our hands. The ameliorating change in our civil departments, kept pace with that in our military affairs. Robert Morris, Esq. being placed at the head of our financial department, soon introduced a new system, which promised the most beneficial result; and by his exertions a national bank was established, to which Congress granted an act of incorporation, under the title of the *Bank of North America*. A change was also made in the war department, and Major General Lincoln placed at its head. On the last day of the year, Mr. Laurens, who had been captured on his way to Holland, in the autumn of 1780, and committed, a close prisoner, to the tower of London, was liberated after many fruitless efforts to prevail on him by alternate threats and entreaties to abandon the cause of his country.

The Marquis de la Fayette, soon after the surrender of Cornwallis, in which he had borne so conspicuous a share, obtained permission of Congress to return to his native country. His zealous attachment to the cause of our independence, and his eminent services in the field, received from Congress their merited tribute of applause; and this gallant foreigner retired from our shores, bearing with him the esteem and gratitude of our citizens, and the affectionate respect and love of the army.

On his return from Virginia Washington was required by Congress to remain some days in Philadelphia, for the purpose of conferring with their committee, on the subject of the requisitions necessary to be made on the several states, for the establishment of the army, and the further measures to be adopted, for the vigorous prosecution of the advantages gained by the recent conquest.

CHAPTER XX.

Events of 1782.—Situation of General Greene's army.—Mr. Laurens liberated from the tower.—Marquis de la Fayette returns to France.—Mutiny in the Southern army.—Skirmishes between General Wayne and the enemy.—Wayne defeats a party of Indians.—The enemy evacuate Savannah.—Skirmish on the Cambahee.—Lieutenant Colonel Laurens is killed.—His character.—Correspondence between General Leslie and Governour Matthews.—Charleston is evacuated.—Count de Grasse defeated in the West Indies.—Siege of Gibraltar.—Mr. Adams forms a treaty with Holland and obtains a loan.—Propositions in the British parliament for peace.—Lord North resigns and is succeeded by the Marquis of Rockingham.—Death of this nobleman.—Lord Shelburne placed at the head of the Administration.—Sir Guy Carleton appointed to the command of the British forces in America.—Case of Captain Huddy.—Sir Guy Carleton attempts a correspondence with Congress.—A passport is refused to his Secretary.—Commissioners appointed to negotiate a general peace.—Negotiation at Paris.—Provisional articles signed between England and America.

THE military operations of the year 1782 present little more than a few skirmishes, and predatory excursions, and these were principally confined to the states of South Carolina and Georgia, in which the enemy still maintained a few trifling posts. We have seen that General Greene, after reposing his army for a few weeks on the Santee, had moved down into the lower country, and that the same enemy who had so long spread terror and dismay wherever they appeared, were now in their turn compelled to fly before the avenging sword of this brave and indefatigable officer, and to secure themselves an asylum, by narrowing the limits of their adventurous excursions.—

The two brigades under Major General St. Clair, had now joined the little army of Greene, and about the middle of January, they moved to the east side of the Edisto, about fifty miles from Charleston, and near to Jacksonborough. Here the army lay for a considerable time, within a few miles of the enemy without ammunition, many of them without arms, and a still greater number without clothing or subsistence. The letters of General Greene, at this period, to the Secretary of war, present a striking contrast to the recent successes of the grand army in Virginia; and to add to the many embarrassments which had kept him for seven months in the field without taking off his clothes for a single night, a mutiny broke out in the Pennsylvania brigade. A scheme had been formed for betraying the army, which was greatly inferior to that of the enemy, into their hands, but it was fortunately nipped in the bud by the discovery and prompt execution of the ringleader, who was a sergeant in the Pennsylvania line.

These continued distresses in the Southern army of the United States, notwithstanding the reestablishment of the state governments, opened to the enemy a prospect of retrieving their losses, which if seized at an earlier period, must have led to the annihilation of our power in the South. But happily they delayed to act, until the favourable moment had passed; trusting to the success of the mutineers, with whom they had held a constant correspondence, all their operations were confined to a scheme of cooperation, which the unwearied vigilance and penetration of Greene defeated.

One of the first measures adopted by the new legislature of South Carolina, was the passage of a law

for confiscating the estates and banishing the persons of those who had been active friends of the British government. However wise such a measure might have been at an earlier period of our struggle, its effect now was far from being beneficial. Many of the citizens who had joined the British standard, had done so from compulsion, or because the power of the state or general government was inadequate to their protection; and having been forced into involuntary allegiance, their self preservation was made to depend upon the activity of their zeal. It aroused the appetite for speculation, and awakened in the enemy the design of retaliation, by which many of the best friends of government were stripped of their property, to make compensation to the sufferers under the law.

General Wayne in the mean time, who had been detached with a part of the Southern army into Georgia, was advancing rapidly upon Savannah, at the head of a force not more than half equal to that of his adversary. General Clarke, who commanded in Savannah, upon receiving intelligence of Wayne's advance, directed the officers commanding out posts, to destroy every thing and retire to the capital. On the 19th of May, he detached Lieutenant Colonel Brown, an officer of considerable enterprise, at the head of 350 infantry and a squadron of cavalry, to protect a party of his Indian friends that were then advancing to Savannah. Brown advanced as far as Ogeachy, but not meeting with the Indians, he set out on the 21st, on his return. Wayne in the mean time having heard of his advance, determined if possible to intercept him, and with this view threw himself by a bold manœuvre into his rear. His whole corps consisted of about 500 men, chiefly infantry, the van of which,

composed of one company of light infantry and a few dragoons was led by Captain Parker, who was ordered when he met the enemy to trust altogether to the sword and bayonet. Brown had to pass over a causeway, which it was important for Wayne to possess in order to accomplish his object. Parker therefore moved with celerity, and about 10 in the forenoon reached the causeway, where he was in a few minutes met by a small patrol of the enemy's cavalry, the whole of which he took with the exception of one dragoon.— Brown's whole force being in the mean time upon the causeway, with his cavalry in front, they were charged by Lieutenant Bowyer with our horse, and being thrown into confusion and driven back upon their infantry, which from the narrowness of the causeway could not be brought to their support, Brown was compelled to fall back with his whole column. Upon General Wayne's coming up with the van, the enemy was pursued with the hope of being able to bring him to battle, but his retreat was made good to Savannah.

The Indians whom Brown had expected to meet, did not reach their place of rendezvous until a month afterwards, when hearing of Wayne's position in the vicinity, they determined to fall upon his pickets; and early on the morning of the 24th of June, the attempt was made. But the Indian chief was deceived in his expectation: instead of falling upon the American picket, he soon found himself fighting Wayne's whole army; and after a most gallant action in which both parties fought with uncommon bravery, hand to hand, this Indian chief and seventeen of his warriors fell, and the rest took to flight. They were immediately pursued in all directions, and 12 of them were overtaken and brought back. These General Wayne

thought proper to put to death. Our loss did not exceed twelve, killed and wounded.

It was perhaps one of the most extraordinary incidents that ever occurred, that a number of Indian warriors should have passed from the Creek nation, through the whole state of Georgia, without being seen or discovered by a single individual who could communicate the intelligence to General Wayne.—When attacked in his camp in the dark, he had not the most distant suspicion of the nature of his antagonists, but took it for granted, on the contrary, that the whole garrison of Savannah had fallen upon him, and under this impression, determing to sell his life dearly, he exposed his person to every hazard, and fought with a gallantry never surpassed. Lieutenant Colonel Posey, and Captain Parker bravely seconded their commander, in this unlooked for attack, which closed the war in Georgia, the enemy having soon after determined upon evacuating Savannah, the only post which they now held in the state.

When this measure was made known to the merchants of Savannah, a deputation waited upon General Wayne, under the protection of a flag of truce, to know upon what conditions he would grant security to their persons and property. Wayne in his reply promised present protection to themselves and property whenever the British garrison should withdraw, but referred the ultimate decision of their fate to the civil authority. The merchants and other inhabitants, however, were not content with this uncertainty, and sent a second deputation to ascertain the definitive conditions upon which they might remain in the town. Instructed in the mean time by Governour Martin, General Wayne now gave them assurances,

that all who chose to remain should be protected in person and property, and that those who did not owe allegiance to the United States, should be allowed a reasonable time to dispose of their effects and settle their affairs. Major Habersham, of Georgia, Wayne's messenger on this occasion, and a gentleman of high character, pledged himself for the faithful observance of these conditions, and the affair being thus satisfactorily adjusted, the British garrison evacuated the place on the 11th of July, and the Americans entered it on the same day.

Thus was Georgia once more, and forever restored to the union, after being in possession of the enemy for more than three years. The town and works of Savannah were uninjured during the occupation by the enemy, for which much credit is due to Brigadier General Clarke, an officer much esteemed by the Americans for his humanity. It is computed that Georgia lost by the ravages of the enemy during the war, one thousand of its citizens, and about 4000 slaves.

General Wayne, after taking possession of Savannah, moved with his army to South Carolina, and having again joined General Greene, the concentrated troops moved nearer to Charleston, with a view of cutting off the enemy's supplies from the country, and occasional skirmishes took place, which generally ended in driving the provision parties back without gaining the object of their excursion. But the British ministry having, in the mean time, heard of the decisive operations in Virginia, began seriously to think of peace, and seeing the futility of any further efforts to maintain their possessions in the South, had given orders for abandoning all offensive operations, and evacuating their posts. General Leslie, therefore, to

avoid the necessity of procuring supplies for his troops at the hazard of further blood, addressed a letter to General Greene, in which, after stating the sole object of his inroads into the country, he proposed a cessation of hostilities, and the consequent discontinuance of his foraging parties, on condition of being permitted to purchase from the inhabitants at a fair price, such provisions as might be necessary for his army while it remained in Charleston. If the proposal of the British General had terminated here, it is possible that neither General Greene, nor the civil authority, would have found any grounds of objection to what, under every consideration, was so advantageous to themselves. But there was a threat in the alternative which aroused their pride; and on the plea of good faith to our allies, against whose possessions in the West Indies it was believed the British forces would be turned, and for which expedition, more than for their present wants, it was alleged that provisions would be amassed, the proposition was rejected.

This decision on the part of the American military and civil authorities, rendered it necessary for General Leslie to continue his predatory excursions, and to endeavour to take that by force, which he had shown his willingness to procure by peaceable purchase. For this purpose, a considerable detachment was fitted out, which under the protection of their armed vessels, proceeded to the Combahee River, and commenced loading their transports with provisions.

The light corps of General Greene's army, now considerably augmented, and placed under the command of Brigadier General Gist, (Lee having early in the present year obtained permission to retire from

the army on account of his health) was always held in readiness to counteract these excursions of the enemy; and this movement, therefore, was no sooner known to Greene, than Gist was detached in pursuit of the party. He advanced by a rapid march, and came up with the enemy on Page's Point, on the 27th of August. Lieutenant Colonel Laurens, the son of Mr. President Laurens, a young officer of splendid promise, and heroick gallantry, to whose command one division of the light corps had been entrusted on its augmentation, was at the moment of General Gist's marching, confined to his bed by illness; but upon being informed of the intended enterprise, nothing could restrain his determination to join his corps, and coming up with them just as they reached the point of destination, he obtained permission to place himself at the head of the van, which was at some distance in advance of the main body. Perceiving that the enemy were preparing to retire, he determined to strike at them, though his force was greatly inferior, and in the execution of this daring design, this intrepid hero fell mortally wounded. Gist got up time enough to take one of the enemy's transports, but the remainder retired safely to Charleston.

There was something in the character of Lieutenant Colonel Laurens, which demands the particular notice of the American historian. His picture is thus drawn by Dr. Ramsay, who knew him well, and confirmed by Washington, with whom he had braved most of the dangers of the war. "Nature had adorned him with a large proportion of her choicest gifts, and these were highly cultivated by an elegant, useful and practical education. His patriotism was of

the most ardent kind. The moment he was of age, he broke off from the amusements of London, and on his arrival in America, instantly joined the army. Wherever the war raged most, there was he to be found. A dauntless bravery was the least of his virtues, and an excess of it his greatest foible. His various talents fitted him to shine in courts or camps, or popular assemblies. He had a heart to conceive, a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute schemes of the most extensive utility to his country, or rather to mankind, for his enlarged philanthropy, knowing no bounds, embraced the whole human race. This excellent young man, who was the pride of his country, the idol of the army, and an ornament to human nature, lost his life in the 27th year of his age, in an unimportant skirmish with a foraging party, in the very last moments of the war." It was a singular circumstance, and thought worthy of remark by Mr. Burke in the British parliament, that this young officer, whose father was then a prisoner in the tower of London, of which Lord Cornwallis was constable, should be one of the commissioners to settle the terms of that surrender, by which Cornwallis himself became a prisoner.

The activity of General Greene, evinced by the celerity with which the light corps of his army moved upon Combahee, determined General Leslie for the future to confine his foraging parties to the small islands along the coast, which gave him but a scanty and precarious subsistence. In the mean time, preparations were openly, but slowly, going on for the evacuation of Charleston, in the course of which, something occurring to excite the apprehensions of the inhabitants that the enemy meant to carry off the nume-

rous bodies of slaves within their lines, Governour Matthews was solicited by their owners to address the British General on the subject; which he did by letter on the 17th of August. In this General Leslie was informed, that if the property of any of the citizens of South Carolina was carried off by the British army, he would seize upon the debts due to the British merchants, and the claims on estates by marriage settlements, as well as confiscated estates, to remunerate his fellow-citizens. This threat produced a serious alarm among the loyalists and British merchants, at whose pressing solicitations, General Leslie proposed the appointment of commissioners for the purpose of opening a negotiation on behalf of those concerned, and on the 10th of October, a compact was mutually agreed upon between them, as honourable and satisfactory to the two parties as the nature of the case would admit. But in the end, the compact proved of but little utility, for in violation of plighted faith, and in spite of remonstrance, the greater part of the negroes, whose preservation to their owners was the object of the compact, were carried off by the enemy, and sold in the West Indies, for the emolument of British officers.

Notwithstanding the declared intention of General Leslie to evacuate Charleston, early in August, three months passed away before any serious preparations were made to accomplish this desirable object. During the greater part of this time, General Greene's army was in a most deplorable state of suffering; one third of them, in the plain, but expressive language of Greene's official statement, having "nothing but a breech cloth about them," and the other two thirds "as ragged as wolves." Nor were they bet-

ter fed than clothed—their “beef was perfect carrion, and even bad as it was, they were frequently without any.” In this situation, it is not wonderful, that General Greene should feel the most anxious solicitude, for the speedy accomplishment of an event, upon which alone depended the relief of his army. At length, to the great joy of the American army and citizens, the embarkation of the British troops was completed on the 14th of December, without interruption; and the light troops under Wayne, entered the town as the rear of the enemy retired. Governour Matthews, with his suite, entered it on the same day, and in the course of a few hours, all the civil authorities were in the peaceful exercise of their respective functions.

Thus happily ended the war in the southern states, which for three years had raged with unexampled severity. During this long and arduous struggle, scarcely a family escaped the universal pressure of distress. Depredations were alike committed by both contending parties. The gratification of revengeful feelings excited by private feuds and animosities, found an excuse in the confusion and turbulence of the times, and many lives were thus sacrificed to individual enmity under the sanction of a general cause. More than fourteen hundred widows, in South Carolina, alone, were left to mourn the wide desolation of the sword; and those families to whom the husband or the father had been spared, were yet made partakers in the general affliction, by the loss of those means upon which their future subsistence and happiness depended.

After suffering so long the restraints and privations of a garrison life, it may be well imagined that

the citizens of Charleston, hailed with glad acclaim, the approaching period of repose; while those who had been so long exiled from their families and homes, flew from all quarters to join in the general joy. To General Greene, this event was a release from an accumulation of difficulties and afflictions, which had left him no moment of repose during the whole period of his command. The detail of distresses which his letters contain, and by which every step of his progress was surrounded, affords a melancholy, but gratifying proof, how utterly chimerical was the idea of conquering a country where such men were to be found. When he entered upon his command, he found the scattered remains of a conquered army, without clothes, without food, without hope—in a country where the spirits of those who had not already joined the enemy, were sunk in listless despondence. With these troops he had to march over swamps and rivers, and inhospitable barrens, contending at every step with a proud and victorious foe, in every thing his superiour. Constantly moving from the upper confines of North Carolina to the southern extremity of Georgia, through conquered or disaffected settlements, neither winter nor summer gave him time for repose. Unable to procure supplies from the proper source, his own personal security was pledged to a large amount for the subsistence of his troops. Over all these embarrassments, the prudence, the fortitude, and the ability of Greene triumphed. His laborious campaigns ended in the restoration of these states to their rightful authorities.

The war in Europe, and on the seas, during the present tranquillity in America, still raged with unabated fury. The combined fleets of France and

Spain, were successively adding island after island in the West Indies, to their respective monarchies, and the power of Great Britain seemed to be every where reduced to the shadow of its former greatness. In this state of things, while the two fleets were separated, that of the Spanish Admiral, at Hispaniola, and that of the Count de Grasse at Martinique, Admiral Rodney formed a junction with Sir Samuel Hood, and with their united fleet, amounting to 36 sail of the line, came up with the Count de Grasse on the 8th of April, on his way to join the Spanish Admiral. The two fleets were nearly equal, the Count having two ships less than Admiral Rodney. Some partial skirmishing continued for three or four days, in which two of the French ships were entirely disabled; and on the 12th, at 7 in the morning, a general action commenced, which lasted for near twelve hours. This circumstance alone is sufficient to show that the battle was fought with undaunted bravery on both sides; but our brave friends and allies, who had so lately quitted the Chesapeake in the triumph of victory, were now compelled to yield to British prowess. The slaughter on board the French ships was almost incredible; on board of one ship alone, upwards of 400 were killed. Eight ships fell into the hands of the enemy, and among them the Count's flag ship, the *Ville de Paris*, of 110 guns, and 1300 men. This signal victory completely turned the tide of affairs in the West Indies, and prevented the further prosecution of the schemes of conquest which had been planned by the allied powers.

The siege of Gibraltar which soon followed, and the successful resistance of General Elliott against the most extraordinary combination of military en-

gines, that the ingenuity of man, intent upon destruction ever invented, put an end to the war in Europe, each of the three great belligerents having now met with such a defeat, as respectively disposed them to think of peace.

The successful negotiation of Mr. John Adams, had in the mean time, procured the acknowledgment of American independence by the States General of Holland, and by his indefatigable exertions, a treaty of alliance and amity was soon signed between the two republicks. Mr. Adams also succeeded in obtaining a considerable loan of money, which in the exhausted state of their resources, proved a seasonable and acceptable offering to his countrymen.

The long continuance of the war, and the disasters which it brought with it to all classes of people, rendered all preparation for its further prosecution extremely unpopular through every part of the British empire. Petitions to his Majesty, setting forth the delusions of his ministry, the alarming increase of burdens on the people to support a war which could never accomplish the subjection of the revolted colonies, were presented from all parts of the kingdom. Various motions were made in parliament tending to declare the injurious effects of any future attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience, and the necessity of a general peace to restore the exhausted energies of the nation. The fate of these motions from time to time showed the declining influence of the ministry, until at length on the 27th of February, General Conway, whose exertions had been unremitted, obtained a majority on his motion, for an address to his Majesty; praying "that he will be pleased to give directions to his ministers not to pursue any longer

the impracticable object of reducing his majesty's revolted Colonies by force, to their allegiance, by a war on the continent of America ; and assuring his majesty that his faithful commoners will most cheerfully concur with him in such measures, as may be found necessary to accelerate the blessings of returning peace." The debate on this motion occupied the house until 2 o'clock in the morning, and so great was the joy manifested on its being carried, that serious apprehensions were entertained by the secretaries of state, that the city would become the scene of alarming tumult. On the 4th his majesty answered his commons " that in pursuance of their advice, he would take such measures as should appear to him the most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the *revolted Colonies*." This was not such an answer as General Conway had expected, or intended to produce by his address ; there was still too much of that insincerity, and indefinite expression, which characterized the ministry, and the General had no disposition to trust to their equivocal construction. He, therefore, after the usual vote of thanks, brought forward two other motions. 1. " That nothing could so essentially promote the great objects of his majesty's paternal care, as the measures his faithful Commons, had humbly, though earnestly, recommended to his Majesty ;" and 2d. " That the House will consider as enemies to his Majesty and the country, all those who should advise a prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America." The meaning of these could not be mistaken ; and though some feeble opposition was made to them by the declining ministry, they passed without a division.

On the same day, it was thought proper to take the command of his majesty's forces in America, out of the hands of Sir Henry Clinton, and place it in those of Sir Guy Carleton. There is something inexplicable in the policy, by which the English ministry conducted their American affairs, from the earliest appearance of rebellion, down to the glorious close of our revolution. Continually resolving upon decisive measures, they were as continually thwarted by the employment of inefficient means of execution. Sir Henry Clinton, to whom a force had been entrusted, at all times adequate to the annihilation of the American army, if it had been properly directed, had not a single attribute of a great General. With only zeal enough to be active in the prosecution of a petty system of warfare, that required neither boldness of design, nor acuteness of judgment, he should never have been placed in a sphere that demanded the continual exercise of both. He had neither foresight enough to look beyond the present moment, nor energy to compensate for his want of sagacity. He would have done well under the orders of Sir Guy Carleton, or Cornwallis ; but if the war had continued for years longer, his genius could never have raised him to the first rank. At the conclusion of the war, when there was no longer occasion for the exercise of military talents, Great Britain called to the head of her armies one of the first Generals of the age, who had been suffered to pass the most important period of her struggle, in the inactive employment of a civil government. By what extraordinary infatuation this imbecile system of operations was so long kept up by the British rulers, would puzzle the profoundest statesman. We have reason, however, to congratulate ourselves, on the son-

tinuance of their blindness, whatever may have been the fatality that produced it.

The adoption of the motions of General Conway, gave unequivocal evidence, that the ministers had lost the confidence of the nation, and a consequent change became indispensable. On the 20th of March, therefore, Lord North, whose unhappy administration had reduced his country to the verge of dissolution, gave notice that his Majesty had determined to change his ministers, and in a speech of considerable interest, in which he spoke of the trying scenes through which he had for so many years conducted the affairs of government, and which, he might have added, were all produced by his own perverse system of policy, he took leave of the house as minister. The Marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the new administration, but made it one of the conditions of his acceptance, that there should be peace with the Americans, and that the acknowledgement of their independence should be no bar to its attainment.

The hopes excited in England by the appointment of a man of Lord Rockingham's known integrity and talents, and of principles so completely in accordance with the wishes of the nation, were but of short continuance. The death of this amiable nobleman on the 1st of July, produced new difficulties, and new scenes of confusion in the ministry, as it was followed by the promotion of Lord Shelburne, to the vacant place, who it was known was strongly opposed to the acknowledgement of American independence. Lord John Cavendish and Mr. Fox immediately resigned their places, the former as chancellor of the exchequer, the latter as principal secretary of state. The reason assigned by Mr. Fox for this step was that the system in which

he consented to unite in the new coalition, was not likely to be pursued, in as much as the first principle of that system, the unconditional acknowledgement of the independence of the United States, was in opposition to the known sentiments of his lordship. Lord Shelburne, however, being thus called upon to declare his opinions avowed that though his sentiments with regard to American independence were unchanged, he now regarded it as a *necessary evil*, to which his country must submit, in order to avoid a greater. Mr. William Pitt, son of Lord Chatham, succeeded Lord Cavendish as chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Oswald were appointed to meet the American commissioners at Paris, for the purpose of settling provisional articles of a peace between the two countries, to be confirmed by a subsequent general peace between all the contending powers.

The British forces had in the mean time evacuated all the posts which they held in the United States, with the exception of New-York; and nothing had occurred north of the Potomack, to interrupt the tranquillity of the year 1782, save only the wanton and atrocious execution of a Captain Huddy, of Jersey. It will be recollected that an association of refugees had been formed in New-York, under the auspices of Sir Henry Clinton, calling themselves the *associated board of loyalists*, by whom depredations and enormities had been committed against their defenceless countrymen, which far outstripped in number and atrocity, the most vindictive cruelties of any other portion of the enemy. The prospect of peace which filled the breasts of every other class of people in our country, both friends and foes, with joyous anticipations, was to them the harbinger of despair. Disappointed

in all their sanguine expectations of arresting the *rebellion* of their countrymen, and conscious that their conduct had excluded them from all claim to mercy at their hands, they saw in the defeat of their ministerial friends, the ruin of their own hopes, and in the desperation of their feelings, they resolved upon plunging into still deeper atrocities, and adding still more deadly injuries to the provocations already given to their countrymen. In this vindictive spirit a party of the loyalists under the direction of a Captain Lippincott, marched over to Jersey, and on *Sunday*, the 24th of March, attacked the Blockhouse on Tom's river, commanded by Captain Joshua Huddy, who after a gallant defence was taken prisoner and carried to New-York, where he was kept in close confinement until the 12th of April.

While he remained in custody, a man by the name of Philip White, was taken by a party of the Jersey people, and killed in attempting to make his escape from the guard. This served as a pretext for revenge, and Captain Huddy was immediately conveyed to the Jersey shore, and without trial, and with every mark of cruel indignity, hanged: the loyalists at the moment of his execution, exclaiming with shouts of savage joy, "*Up goes Huddy for Philip White.*" When this affair was made known, the whole American army cried out for retaliation; and General Washington found himself under the painful necessity of informing Sir Henry Clinton, that unless the murderers of Huddy were given up to justice, a British officer of equal rank should suffer death. For this purpose it became necessary to decide by lot among a number of British prisoners in the American camp, and the chance fell upon Captain Asgill, a young

gentleman of family, of high accomplishments and interesting manners. He was immediately put into close custody, and sentence of death passed upon him. A court martial was in the mean time ordered by Sir Henry Clinton, for the trial of Lippincott, but before its investigations were commenced, Sir Guy Carleton arrived to take the command. From the known humanity of this officer, every thing was expected which could satisfy the claims of justice, and Washington himself hoped that he would be spared the painful task of making the innocent suffer for the guilty. One of Sir Guy's first acts was to break up the associated board of loyalists, and thus put a stop to the insults and cruelties which they were continually practising upon their countrymen. This strongly evinced his disposition to do justice, and when after a long sitting the Court Martial acquitted Captain Lippincott of the murder laid to his charge, Sir Guy Carleton forwarded the proceedings to Washington, accompanied with a letter, in which he assured him that notwithstanding the acquittal of Lippincott, a further inquiry should be prosecuted into the measure, which he unequivocally condemned. During all this time, the interest which the fate of Captain Asgill had excited, was gradually extending itself. A pathetic letter was addressed by his mother, lady Asgill, to the Count de Vergennes, by whom it was communicated to the King and Queen of France, who joined in an appeal to Washington, which the humanity of his feelings could not withstand. If his own heart alone had been consulted, his instant release of the prisoner would have rendered this appeal unnecessary; but the private feelings of Washington were ever subservient to public duty. Congress had now taken

up the affair, and it became necessary to refer the communications of the Count de Vergennes to their decision. This he did in a letter from himself, in which he pronounced his opinion on the side of humanity. Congress after some deliberation gave orders for the release of Captain Asgill, and the joyful tidings were communicated to the Captain in a letter from the commander in chief himself, in which he declared that his release was as great a relief to his own feelings, as it could be to those of his prisoner.

The proceedings of Congress, as founded upon the recent military events, must now claim our attention. The French court, who had been for some time anxious to set on foot negotiations for a general peace, and had been urging the United States to the appointment of commissioners for that purpose, on receiving intelligence of Cornwallis's surrender, gave instructions to their minister to press the subject upon Congress, under the supposition that this heavy disaster would dispose Great Britain to listen to favourable terms. France felt the greatest anxiety on this subject, because by the existing treaties with the United States, she was precluded from making a separate peace, which was now become extremely desirable, and because she feared from the pertinacity which had been evinced by Mr. Adams in pursuing his own measures in Holland, without deference to the policy of the French court, that claims might be obstinately urged by him which would create an insuperable bar to a general pacification, according to the terms of existing treaties. The French minister therefore, not only objected to Mr. Adams as sole negotiator, but endeavoured, by representing him as extremely disagreeable to the French Court, to have him altoget-

ther excluded. The friends of Mr. Adams of course objected to sacrifice him to the resentment of the Count de Vergennes, and endeavoured to smooth the difficulty by proposing to give him instruction to *do nothing* in his negotiation without the consent and approbation of the French Court; but even this did not prove satisfactory, as it was alleged that Mr. Adams might equally obstruct the negotiations by refusing to do *any thing*, and it was finally determined by Congress to associate with Mr. Adams, Dr. Franklin, and John Jay and Henry Laurens, Esquires, for whom commissions were accordingly issued.

The influence which the French Court had acquired over the counsels of our country, may be strongly perceived in the instructions given to these commissioners. That the King of France had contributed largely to bring about those events which entitled us to claim an acknowledgement of our independence, cannot be denied; but there was something subservient in the gratitude of Congress, unworthy of that spirit which had prompted them in the beginning to rely upon their own strength, and to declare themselves independent, when they had no hope of foreign aid. They directed their commissioners, to make the most candid and confidential communication on all subjects to the French Court; to undertake nothing in the negotiation for peace, without their knowledge and concurrence; and ultimately to govern themselves by their advice and opinion. And this they were ordered to do in such a manner as to convince his most Christian Majesty, how much they relied on his influence for effectual support, *in every thing necessary to the present security or future prosperity of the United States.*

On the subject of boundaries, they were directed to govern themselves by the instructions which had been already given to Mr. Adams, in 1779 and 1780. In the event of any difficulty arising from the *backwardness* of Great Britain to make a formal acknowledgement of our independence, they were permitted to agree to a truce, or make such other *concessions* as might not affect the *substance* of what we contended for, and provided Great Britain was not left in possession of any part of the thirteen United States.

It was perhaps fortunate for us, that before the meeting of the commissioners at Paris, Great Britain had been brought to recede from her high stand, and to give up all hopes of peace upon any terms short of an acknowledgement of our independence. This disposition, though it cost a severe blow to her pride to avow it, was manifested by the instructions of the minister to Sir Guy Carleton; which, though they seemed to be founded on the hope that Congress might be induced to enter into a separate negotiation, nevertheless authorised the explicit admission of their independence as the groundwork of negotiation. Sir Guy Carleton had endeavoured immediately after his arrival in the country, to open a correspondence with Congress, and with this view wrote to General Washington to solicit a passport for his secretary, Mr. Morgan. Washington referred the request to Congress, who promptly and peremptorily refused it; and passed a resolution, that they would enter into no discussion of any overtures for pacification, but in concert with his most Christian Majesty. As a further evidence of their fixed determination on this head, they recommended to the

several states to exclude by law all subjects of his Britannick Majesty from their respective limits *during the war*. Sir Guy Carleton was compelled, therefore, to abandon all hope of effecting the object of the ministry, by drawing the Congress into a separate discussion.

Congress could not have given a stronger proof of good faith to their allies, than in thus refusing all overtures from Great Britain at such a moment. They were almost without an army; the loan from Holland had not been received; the minister of finance was exhausted, and had stretched his credit to its utmost point; the patience both of officers and soldiers was nearly spent; and money was at an interest of 5 per cent a month. The important posts of the North River lay at the mercy of the enemy, and discontents every where prevailed to the most alarming degree. The idea of carrying on the war under such circumstances, when peace could be obtained upon terms which promised to secure all the objects of the war, evinced a chivalrick fidelity to their French allies, which Congress had seldom thought it necessary to observe to their immediate constituents. It is doubtful, however, whether this spirit could have outlasted another campaign, unless some extraordinary means had been devised to bring the resources of the country into more active operation. The new bank which was opened on the first of the year, had indeed afforded some facilities to our minister of finance, and enabled him for a time to support the publick credit by anticipating the taxes; but the states, so long as they saw any other means of raising money, failed to levy or collect their taxes, and at the end of three months, the bank was as unwilling to extend their

credit to the United States, as individuals had been, and Mr. Morris found himself again called upon to provide for a three month's expenditure, without a dollar in his hands, or credit to that amount. It is true, the generosity of our ally had allowed us a monthly grant of 500,000 *livres tournois*; but this sum was but half sufficient for the current expenses, and it was absolutely essential to provide for heavy arrearages.

In this critical situation, the refusal of Congress to listen to any separate overtures for peace, which would at once have relieved them from the heaviest of their difficulties, their scrupulous observance of a national contract, at the expense of national interest and advantage, may be regarded as a singular instance of good faith. Happily this good faith was not put to the test of another struggle; for Sir Guy Carleton was soon authorised to announce to Washington, that the negotiations for a general peace had already commenced at Paris, and that preparations were making in England for an immediate and general exchange of prisoners. This intelligence was soon followed by the arrival of three transports with a large body of the prisoners themselves, and it became no longer a matter of doubt that peace was at hand.

The commissioners at Paris, of whom, on the part of the United States, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay only had met, were in the mean time proceeding but slowly in the great work of pacification. Two difficulties occurred in the outset, which seemed to threaten a rupture of the negotiations. Though the Spanish Governour of Louisiana had publicly recognised the independence of the United States so early as Au-

gust 1779, at New Orleans, no formal acknowledgement of it had been made by the court of Spain, with whom all Mr. Jay's efforts to negotiate a treaty of amity and alliance, had proved fruitless. Under these circumstances, Mr. Jay thought himself justifiable in declining to act with the Count de Aranda, the Spanish ambassadour, unless that minister would agree to an exchange of commissions. On the other hand, Mr. Oswald, the British commissioner appointed to treat with the Americans, was not authorised to acknowledge their independence in the first instance, but merely to make it the subject of a *provisional* article of the treaty. To this Mr. Jay objected, on the ground that as the United States must necessarily continue annexed to France by the treaty, and be compelled to fight her battles, and promote her views, no peace could be accomplished, until their independence was acknowledged, and that this acknowledgement therefore, must be a preliminary to negotiations for a peace. The French minister, on the contrary, by whose "advice and opinion" the American commissioners were instructed ultimately to govern themselves, thought the provisional acknowledgement quite sufficient, and consequently that the powers of Mr. Oswald embraced all that was necessary. Dr. Franklin, and the Spanish ambassadour agreed with the Count de Vergennes, but Mr. Jay persisted in his objections, in which he was so far countenanced by Mr. Adams, that he refused to leave Holland, and join in the negotiation, until new powers should be given to Mr. Oswald.

In this state of mutual misunderstanding, affairs remained for several months, until Mr. Jay succeeded in convincing Mr. Oswald himself of the validity of

his objections, and of gaining over his colleague, Dr. Franklin, to his views. The French and Spanish ministers, in the mean time, perplexed at the obstinacy of the American commissioner, secretly despatched a confidential messenger to England, with the view, as it was suspected, of obtaining a private audience of Lord Shelburne, before the application for a new commission could be made to him. This business, however, was not conducted in so secret a manner, but that Mr. Jay received intelligence of it, in time to counteract the effect of any overtures that it might be intended to make to the British minister, by explaining to his lordship the reasoning which had served to convince Mr. Oswald, and the mutual advantages which would obviously result from treating separately with the United States, as independent.

Lord Shelburne, whose system of politicks, as has been seen, had yielded to necessity, and who no longer entertained even a remote hope that any thing could be gained by still refusing to acknowledge the independence of the United States, readily listened to the communications of Mr. Jay, and a new commission was immediately issued, not only empowering Mr. Oswald to make the required acknowledgement, but authorising him to treat separately with the commissioners of the United States. This was the great object at which the American commissioners aimed; as by this, they were enabled to insist upon their right to an equal participation of the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, from which they believed it to be no less the wish of France than of England, to exclude them.

Mr. Adams left Holland, as soon as he heard of this new arrangement, and arrived in Paris towards the latter end of October. The negotiation was immediately opened, and contrary to the express instructions of Congress, not only without the advice and approbation of the French minister, but without his privity. Mr. Oswald for some time strenuously contended against the right of the Americans to the fisheries; but the eloquence of the American negotiators upon a subject in which their constituents were so nearly concerned, was at length irresistible, and this point being reluctantly yielded, provisional articles were soon after agreed upon and signed on the 30th of November, subject to future ratification, when the terms of a general peace should be finally settled with France.

CONCLUSION.

THE secrecy and despatch with which the American commissioners had brought the negotiation to a conclusion, and the very favourable terms which by their industry, skill and perseverance, they had obtained for their country, created no less surprise at the French court, than dissatisfaction and indignation in the Parliament of England. The latter were so loud in their expressions of disapprobation, that serious fears were entertained, lest all the measures for a general pacification should be set aside or suspended, and hostilities be once more commenced.

In addition to the common enjoyment of the fisheries, the boundaries which our commissioners had procured for the United States, were much more extensive, than any which had been claimed by them in their colonial state. These boundaries comprehended the country on both sides of the Ohio, and the extensive Indian lands on the east side of the Mississippi, some of the nations inhabiting which, had been allies of Great Britain. The free navigation of the Mississippi was regarded as a concession, which the *revolted colonies* had no right to demand; and the abandonment of the loyalists to the mercy of Congress, was reprobated by their friends in parliament, as giving them up to the fury of a populace who regarded them as more inveterate and cruel enemies than the natives of Great Britain. It was represented as idle and fallacious, to suppose that Congress could or would protect them, or make restitution of their confiscated estates; and upon the whole it was

urged that an agreement in such provisional articles of a treaty as those which the folly and weakness of Mr. Oswald had granted, would be to tarnish the character and prostrate the glory of the British nation.

The freedom with which Mr. Oswald was ridiculed, was extended also to the new minister, Lord Shelburne, whose conduct was severely censured as weak and inconsistent; and this minister soon found himself so greatly in the minority, that he was glad to retire from a political contest, in which it was obvious, private interests and passions had more influence than concern for the publick welfare. He was succeeded by the Duke of Portland, and a coalition was formed as singular and extraordinary, as that which seven years before, had been raised up, under the auspices of the Earl of Chatham. Lord North and Mr. Fox, between whose political sentiments there had been for eight years an irreconcilable difference, were now seen to act together with the cordiality of long established friendship. Mr. Oswald was recalled from Paris, and Mr. Hartley was deputed by the new minister to take his place.

The ferment which this discussion created in Parliament, served no other purpose than to retard the general negotiations: for as far as they regarded the United States, neither the high tone of the British cabinet, nor the ingenuity and address of Mr. Oswald's successor, were able to effect any change in the stipulations of the provisional treaty. Young as the United States were in affairs of diplomacy, it would not have been easy to have found four gentlemen better qualified to meet the profound and subtle statesmen of Europe, than our commissioners on this occa-

sion. Their talents, their indefatigable zeal and vigilance, their strenuous exertions and devoted attachment to the interests of their country, enabled them to discover and counteract the intrigues and diplomatick finesse of older negotiators; and though Congress had evinced a want of confidence in their discretion, by placing them under the guidance of the French court, the firmness and address with which they acted throughout the whole of the arduous business of negotiation, showed that while they were claiming *independence* for their country, they knew how to enjoy its rights and privileges in themselves.

The definitive treaty of peace and friendship between his Brittanick Majesty, and the United States, was signed at Versailles on the 3d of September, 1783, by the respective plenipotentiaries; and on the same day at Versailles, the definitive treaties between Great Britain, France and Spain were also concluded and signed. A cessation of hostilities had taken place between Great Britain and the United Provinces of Holland, when the preliminary articles were signed between the other powers of Europe, but their provisional treaty was not concluded until the 2d of September, nor finally ratified until some months after the perfect restoration of peace.

Although as we have just seen, the definitive treaty between Great Britain and the United States, was not signed until September, there had been no act of hostility between the two armies, and a state of peace had actually existed, from the commencement of the year 1783. A formal proclamation of the cessation of hostilities was made throughout the army on the 19th of April; but some time before this period, mischievous attempts had been made by anon-

ymous publications, to influence the minds of the officers and soldiers against Congress, and to impress them with the necessity of insisting upon a full redress of all their grievances, before they consented to put out of their hands the means of enforcing it. While the war continued, the army, with a few exceptions, had borne with heroick patience, hardships and privations of the severest kind: they had looked forward to the peace, as the final period of their sufferings, trusting with confidence to the promises of Congress, and to the prospect of an ameliorated state of the finances. But now this long expected time was approaching; and that they saw no effort made to secure the payment of their large arrearages; that on the contrary, it appeared to be the wish and intention of Congress to disband the army *by furloughs*, with no other reward for their long services, than the arms with which they had fought; they became outrageous in their complaints, and equally bold in their demands for immediate payment. They addressed a letter to the commander in chief, entreating, that he would not now take the part of Congress against them, by compelling the soldiers to accept of furloughs until they had received some compensation for their services, and they appointed a committee, (General McDougal, Colonels Brookes and Ogden) to wait on Congress, and represent to that body the state of the army, and the probable consequences of a disbandment under such circumstances.

The most seditious papers were in the mean time industriously circulated through the army, the authors of which, it was generally suspected, were prompted or aided by other public creditors, than those which

belonged to the military. They felt an interest in making use of the army to intimidate Congress and compel them to enter into such arrangements as would bind the respective states to become responsible for all the public debts. It was a fearful and alarming crisis for Congress. They could not deny the justice of the claims made upon them by the army, nor was it in their power to satisfy their demands. It was painful to dismiss them without some security for the future liquidation of their immense arrearages, and yet so indifferent were the states to the orders or remonstrances of Congress, that but little hope could be entertained of any final and satisfactory settlement.— They were compelled, therefore, to answer the representations of the army, in such a way as they thought best calculated to calm their irritation, and excite them to future patience and confidence in the good faith of the states. They made a commutation of the half pay for life to the officers, or to those of them who preferred it, by granting the gross sum of five years pay, in money or securities at 6 per cent per annum; and by the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Morris, they were enabled after a time to procure a sum equivalent to four months pay of the army.

Washington during all this time laboured with assiduity to quiet the murmurs, and allay the mutinous spirit of the army. He spoke individually to the officers, and addressed them collectively; and every thing which his duty as commander in chief, or his feeling as a patriot could dictate, was done. He conjured them to rely on the faith of their country, and pledged himself that his influence and abilities would never cease to be exerted in their favour, so long as they respected themselves, and preserved

their well earned reputation untarnished by intemperate resolutions, and acts that must lead to a civil discord, more horrible than any grievances of which they had now to complain.

These efforts of Washington produced the desired effect upon the greater part of the army, who accepted their furloughs, and retired peaceably to their homes ; but a few of those who had the least cause of complaint, as is too often found to be the case, still maintained their resolution to enforce redress at the point of the bayonet. Fortunately this number was too contemptible either to cast a shade over the glory of the army, or to excite the fears of the country.— About *eighty* of the Pennsylvania levies, stationed at Lancaster, foolishly determined to march to Philadelphia, and compel the state council to an immediate redress of their grievances. They reached the city on the 20th June, and repairing to the barracks, induced about 200 of the soldiers lately returned from the Southern army to join them. On the 21st they repaired to the State House, where the Congress, as well as the State Council were in session ; they made their appearance as martial and imposing as possible, by marching with fixed bayonet, and drums beating. Having secured all the avenues to the house, they sent in a written message to the president of the State Council, containing threats of immediate vengeance if their demands were not satisfied. Congress though not the object of this insult, felt nevertheless somewhat alarmed at the menacing attitude of the soldiery, and for several hours remained in a state of unpleasant imprisonment. At the end of this time, finding that no attempt was made to insult or molest them, they determined upon adjourning to meet at Prince-

ton, on the 26th, and endeavouring to effect their escape out of the house. This they did not only from a fear of being annoyed by a repetition of such scenes, but as an expression of their resentment against the City Authorities for adopting no measures of protection. From Princeton they soon adjourned to Annapolis in Maryland.

Washington took the most decisive measures to quiet these disturbances as soon as he was informed of them, by sending General Howe with a large detachment to Philadelphia. The mutineers were soon dispersed without bloodshed, and some of them tried and condemned to death; but they were afterwards pardoned by Congress, who felt but too conscious that they had given cause for discontents even more outrageous.

On the 17th of August Sir Guy Carleton informed the president of Congress, that he had received his final orders for the evacuation of New-York, and that he should lose no time in preparing to execute his majesty's commands. Congress soon after issued a proclamation, in which after thanking the army, in the name of their country, for their patriotick virtue and faithful services, throughout the progress of a long and arduous war, they added that "such part of the federal army as stood engaged to serve during the war, should from and after the 3d day of November next, be absolutely discharged from the said service." On the day previous to their discharge, Washington issued his farewell orders. The trying times through which he had passed, the difficulties which at every stage of the long contest, he had had to encounter, and the unexampled patience which under every circumstance of suffering this army had evinced, the

affectionate respect and deference with which they had at all times treated his commands and his advice, gave a melancholy solemnity to the present occasion, which deeply affected the mind of Washington. He took a review of the past scenes, dwelt upon the glorious prospects which were now opening upon them, earnestly exhorted them to pursue that course of conduct which would ensure to them the enjoyment of the blessings for which they had fought, and then bade them adieu in the following words : " Being now to conclude these his last publick orders, to take his ultimate leave in a short time, of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command, he can only again offer in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of heaven's favours, both here and hereafter, attend those who under the divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others ! With these wishes and this benediction, the commander in chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene to him will be closed forever."

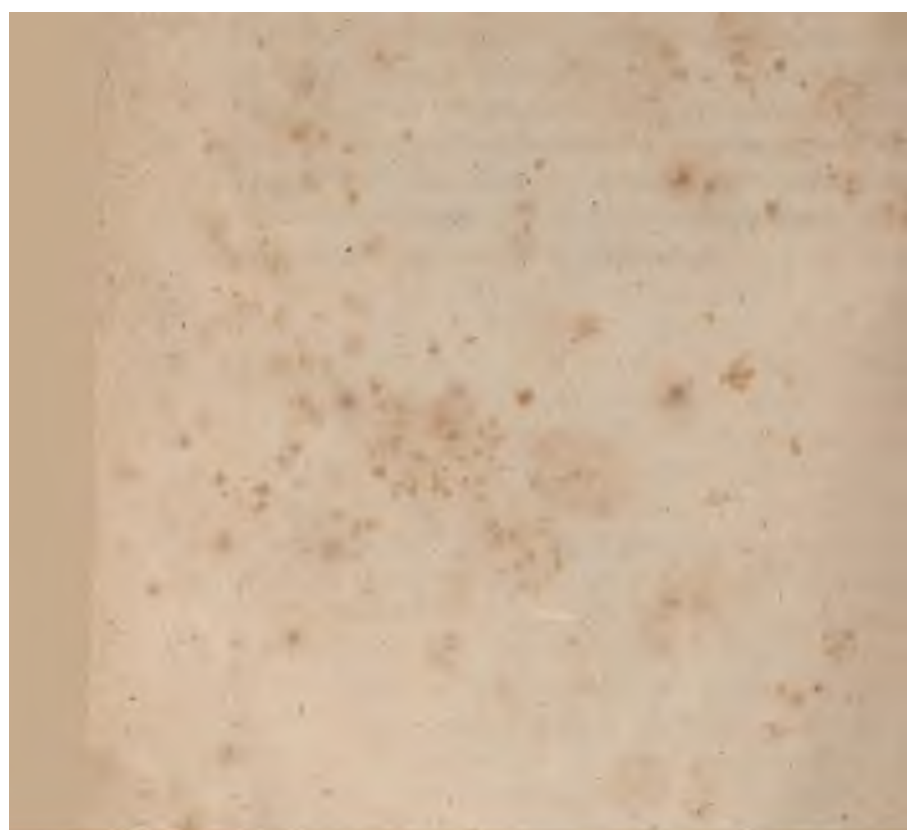
The preparations of Sir Guy Carleton, being at length completed, New-York was evacuated on the 25th of November, and on the same day General Washington with the patriotick Governour Clinton and the irrelative suites made their publick entry into the city. The concourse of citizens to witness this interesting scene, was great ; and the numerous amusements devised, to give zest to the joyous occasion were splendid beyond example. Washington remained but a short time at New-York, and taking an effec-

tionate leave of his officers, he hastened to Annapolis, where the Congress were then sitting, to consummate the glory of his career, by resigning his unlimited power into the hands of those who had conferred it upon him. This he did on the 23d of December, in a publick audience of Congress; and immediately after this interesting interview, once more in the character of a private citizen, this illustrious hero, filled with delightful anticipations, and enjoying the consciousness of having faithfully discharged the duties of his responsible station, hastened to his favourite Mount Vernon, where a richer reward awaited him than all the honours which the publick could bestow—the affectionate greetings of an amiable and beloved wife, and the approving smiles of his earliest associates and neighbours.

On the 13th of December Congress received the definitive treaty, and on the following day it was solemnly ratified by affixing to it the great seal of the United States. We should transcend the limits assigned to this work, were we to pursue the further measures of Congress, towards the establishment of a general government to secure the blessings of independence, now acknowledged by all the respectable powers of Europe. The war was ended, and gloriously ended, with the attainment of all its objects; but much yet remained to be done by Congress, to complete the work which had hitherto been entrusted to the army. These labours more properly belong to another history; and we now therefore take our leave of the reader, earnestly recommending to his constant attention, this advice of the great father of our liberties—"There are four things which I humbly conceive are essential to the wellbeing, I may venture to say to the exis-

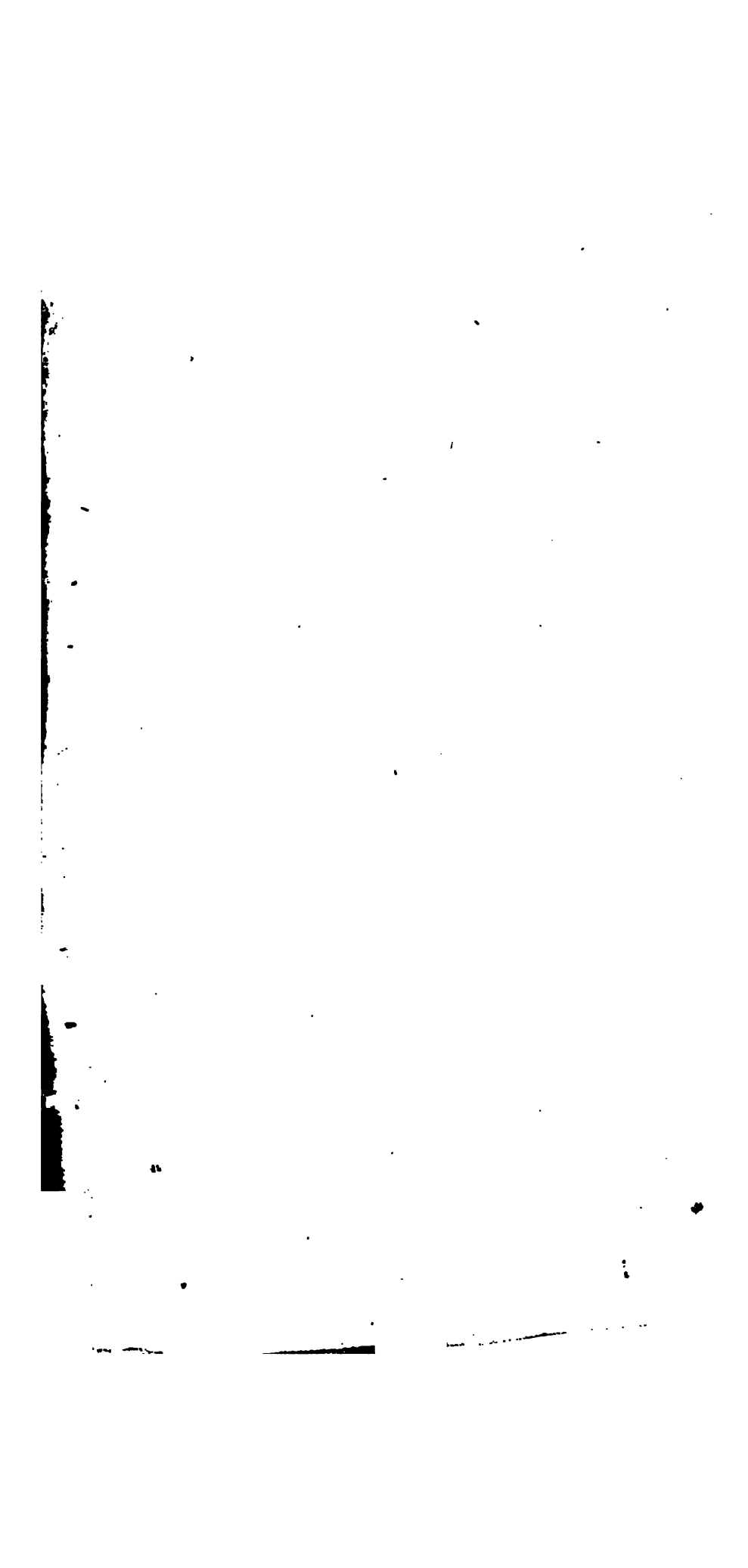
tence, of the United States as an independent power. 1st. An indissoluble union of the States under one federal head. 2d. A sacred regard to publick justice. 3d. The adoption of a proper peace establishment. And 4th. The prevalence of that pacifick and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and politicks, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity ; and in some instances to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community. *These are the pillars on which the glorious fabrick of our independence and national character must be supported."*

FINIS.













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